

CHRIST AND THE FUTURE
IN
NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

SUPPLEMENTS TO NOVUM TESTAMENTUM

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CHRIST AND THE FUTURE IN NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY

BY

E. EARLE ELLIS



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For
Southwestern Colleagues and Students
1985–1998

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PREFACE

One may approach New Testament theology by treating the various themes separately, as often is done in systematic theology, or one may begin with a core concept (or concepts) that will explain the other themes radiating out from it. The latter is clearly preferable and more in keeping with the thinking of the New Testament writers.

The most likely core concept of New Testament thought is eschatology, that is, the kingdom of God and the two-fold consummation of the present age in salvation and in destructive judgment. But this statement must immediately be qualified: The core is eschatology as defined by the person of Jesus Christ, the Messiah, who is the pre-eminent eschatological event. On the other hand, the New Testament's core concept may plausibly be identified as Jesus Christ himself. If so, it too must immediately be qualified: Jesus Christ as the one in whom the kingdom of God is made present and through whom God will consummate the present age.

There appears to be a double core conception in the New Testament that one may term either christological eschatology or eschatological christology. The substance of this volume addresses a number of topics within this double theme, seven of them on 'the person of Jesus'¹ and eight of them on 'this age and the age to come.'²

¹ Chapter I appeared in *Evangelium – Schriftauslegung – Kirche*. FS P. Stuhlmacher, edd. J. Adna et al., Tübingen 1997, 94–106; chapter II in *BBR* 3 (1993), 59–75; chapter III in *Jesus of Nazareth: Lord and Christ*. FS I. H. Marshall, edd. J. B. Green and M. M. B. Turner, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1994, 192–203. Chapters IV, V, VI and VII were published, respectively, in *SWJT* 34, 1 (1991), 31–35; *Jésus aux origines de la christologie*, ed. J. Dupont, Leuven: University Press, 1989, 193–200 = ET: *Current Issues in Biblical and Patristic Interpretation*. FS M. C. Tenney, ed. G. F. Hawthorne, Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1975, 121–127; *SWJT* 31, 1 (1988), 24–31; *From Jesus to John*. FS M. de Jonge, ed. M. C. de Boer, Sheffield UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993, 168–173.

² Chapter VIII appeared in *NTS* 10 (1963–64), 274–279; chapter IX in *L'Évangile de Luc*. FS L. Cerfaux, ed. F. Neirynck, Leuven: University Press, 1973, 51–65 = ET: *Eschatology in Luke*, Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972 = GT: *ZTK* 66 (1969), 387–402 = *Das Lukasevangelium* (WdF 280), ed. G. Braumann, Darmstadt 1974, 378–397; chapter X in *L'Évangile de Luc*. FS L. Cerfaux, ed. F. Neirynck, Leuven: University Press, 1989, 296–303. Chapters XI, XII, XIII and XIV were published, respectively, in *NTS* 12 (1965–66), 27–41; *NTS* 6 (1959–60), 211–224; *Int* 44 (1990), 132–144; *The*

The final three chapters³ provide considered judgments on the historical and hermeneutical framework of early Christianity from which the theological studies proceed. Specifically, it is argued that the New Testament documents are the relatively early products of even earlier traditions carefully composed and transmitted by eye witnesses or by their associates and that they offer a firm basis for a historical understanding of Christianity.

They are, moreover, the work of prophets and can be properly understood only when their character as prophetic writings is apprehended and appropriated. The last chapter of the book, previously unpublished, addresses this hermeneutical issue and provides an important presupposition for the discussion of the theological questions in the main sections of the book.

As originally independent essays, the work contains some repetitions of thoughts or themes that have been allowed to stand in order to illumine or clarify the issue addressed. In common with the biblical languages and with traditional standard English it uses the generic masculine where that is deemed important for the meaning. The volume addresses the topics from a historical, critical and exegetical perspective, and it reflects an understanding of Scripture as preeminently the Word of God to the church and a conviction that biblical study at every level is pertinent to her theological concerns. Therefore, each chapter has both academic and ecclesial interests in view.

I am deeply appreciative to Professor David Moessner and his associates for accepting the volume in the *Novum Testamentum Supplements* series and to Mr. Theo Joppe for guiding the manuscript through the press.

I am deeply grateful to my former secretary, Mrs. Laverne Smith, for her tireless and efficient labors in organizing, formatting, and typing this volume; to my secretary, Ms. Kathy Jauch, for completing the tasks; and to my assistant, J. M. Givens, for proofreading and other assistance. I dedicate this volume to Russell H. Dilday,

Reader Must Understand. Eschatology in Bible and Theology, edd. K. E. Brower et al., Leicester 1997, 199–219. Chapter XV appeared in *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today*, ed., J. Panagopoulos, Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977, 46–57.

³ Chapters XVI and XVII were published, respectively, in *Ancient History in a Modern University. FS E. A. Judge*, 2 vols., edd. T. W. Hillard et al., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1998, II, 71–92; *CTR* 3 (1988–89), 3–15. Chapter XVIII has been composed for this volume.

President SWBTS 1978–1994, to my Southwestern faculty and administrative colleagues and to some 2000 students in my lectures and seminars during a delightful 13 years of collegial relationships.

Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
Reformation Sunday 1998

E. Earle Ellis

ABBREVIATIONS

†	Date of death
ABBL	<i>Allgemeine Bibliothek der Biblischen Literatur</i>
AH	Irenaeus, <i>Adversus omnes Haereses</i>
AJBI	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
ANF	<i>Ante-Nicene Fathers</i> , 10 vols., edd. A. Roberts and J. Donaldson, Grand Rapids 1951 (1885–92)
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> , edd. H. Temporini and W. Haase, Berlin 1972–
ANT	<i>The Apocryphal New Testament</i> , ed. J. K. Elliott, Oxford 1993
AÖAW	<i>Anzeige der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
Ant.	Josephus, <i>Antiquities of the Jews</i>
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BAFCS	<i>The Book of Acts in its First Century Setting</i> , 6 vols., ed. B. W. Winter, Grand Rapids 1993–1997
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BBR	<i>Bulletin for Biblical Research</i>
BC	<i>The Beginnings of Christianity</i> , 5 vols., edd. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and K. Lake, London 1920–32
BHH	<i>Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch</i> , 4 vols., edd. B. Reicke and L. Rost, Göttingen 1962–1979
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BjRL	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library</i>
BK	<i>Bibel und Kirche</i>
BR	<i>Biblical Research</i>
BS	<i>Bibliotheca Sacra</i>
BT	Babylonian Talmud
BZ	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
c.	circa = about
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History</i> , 12 vols., ed. S. A. Cook, Cambridge ² 1925–39
CAP	<i>The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> , 2 vols., ed. R. H. Charles, Oxford ² 1963 (1913)
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CGT	<i>Cambridge Greek Testament</i>
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , Berlin 1863–
CR	<i>The Classical Review</i>
CTJ	<i>Calvin Theological Journal</i>
CTR	<i>Criswell Theological Review</i>
ct.	contra; contrast
Compendia	<i>Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum</i> , edd. S. Safrai <i>et al.</i> , Assen 1974–
CurTM	<i>Currents in Theology and Mission</i>
DBS	<i>Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément</i> , ed. Louis Pirot, Paris 1928–
DCA	<i>A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities</i> , 2 vols., edd. W. Smith and S. Cheetham, London 1908
DCB	<i>A Dictionary of Christian Biography</i> , 4 vols., edd. W. Smith and H. Wace, London 1877–87

<i>DGRA</i>	<i>A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities</i> , 2 vols., edd. W. Smith <i>et al.</i> , London 1890
<i>DGRBM</i>	<i>Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology</i> , 3 vols., ed. W. Smith, Boston 1859
<i>DJD</i>	<i>Discoveries in the Judaean Desert</i> , edd. J. T. Milik <i>et al.</i> , Oxford 1956–
<i>DJG</i>	<i>Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels</i> , edd. J. B. Green <i>et al.</i> , Downers Grove IL 1992
<i>DLNT</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Later New Testament</i> , edd. R. P. Martin <i>et al.</i> , Downers Grove IL 1997
<i>DPL</i>	<i>Dictionary of Paul and His Letters</i> , edd. G. F. Hawthorne <i>et al.</i> , Downers Grove IL 1993
<i>DRev</i>	<i>Downside Review</i>
<i>DT</i>	Dutch Text (Translation)
<i>EB</i>	<i>Encyclopedia Biblica</i> , 4 vols., edd. T. K. Cheyne and J. S. Black, London 1899–1907
<i>EdF</i>	<i>Erträge der Forschung</i>
<i>EE</i>	<i>Estudios Eclesiásticos</i>
<i>EGT</i>	<i>The Expositor's Greek Testament</i> , 5 vols., ed. W. R. Nicoll, London 1910
<i>EQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>ET</i>	English Text (Translation)
<i>ET</i>	<i>Expository Times</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
f. (ff.)	following page, verse (two pages, verses)
fl	flourished
Flor	Florilegium
FS	Festschrift (or memorial volume)
FT	French Text (Translation)
<i>GB</i>	<i>Great Books of the Western World</i> , 54 vols., ed. R. M. Hutchins, Chicago 1952
<i>GCS</i>	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller</i>
<i>GP</i>	<i>Gospel Perspectives</i> , 6 vols., edd. D. Wenham <i>et al.</i> , Sheffield UK 1980–1986
<i>GT</i>	German Text (Translation)
<i>HDB</i>	<i>Dictionary of the Bible</i> , 5 vols. (4 + extra volume), ed. J. Hastings, Edinburgh 1898–1904
<i>HE</i>	(Eusebius) <i>Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>HJ</i>	<i>Heythrop Journal</i>
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IDB</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible</i> , 4 vols., ed. G. A. Buttrick, New York 1962
<i>IDBSuppl</i>	<i>Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. Supplementary Volume</i> , ed. K. Krim, Nashville 1976
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IF</i>	Introductory Formula
<i>ILS</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> , 3 vols. in 5, ed. H. Dessau, Chicago 1979 (1892–1914)
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>IQR</i>	<i>Irish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>ISBE</i> ²	<i>International Standard Bible Encyclopedia</i> , Revised ed., 4 vols., ed. G. W. Bromiley, Grand Rapids 1979–88
j	Jerusalem (Palestinian) Talmud
<i>JB</i>	The Jerusalem Bible
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>

<i>JBR</i>	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
<i>JCBRF</i>	<i>Journal of the Christian Brethren Research Fellowship</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> , 12 vols., ed. I. Singer, New York 1901–1906
<i>JPT</i>	<i>Jaarbücher für Protestantische Theologie</i>
<i>JR</i>	<i>Journal of Religion</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
Loeb	The Loeb Classical Library, edd. T. E. Page <i>et al.</i> , London 1912–
<i>LQHR</i>	<i>London Quarterly and Holborn Review</i>
<i>LXX</i>	The Septuagint
<i>M</i>	Mishnah
<i>Mek</i>	Mekilta de-Rabbi Ishmael
<i>MPG</i>	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , 162 vols., ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1857–66
<i>MPL</i>	<i>Patrologiae. Series Latina</i> , 221 vols., ed. J. P. Migne, Paris 1879–90
<i>Ms(s)</i>	Manuscript(s)
<i>MT</i>	Masoretic Text, Hebrew Old Testament
<i>n</i>	note
<i>NBD</i>	<i>New Bible Dictionary</i> , ed. J. D. Douglas, Leicester UK ² 1982
<i>ND</i>	<i>New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity</i> , edd. G. H. R. Horsley <i>et al.</i> , Sydney 1981–
<i>NDT</i>	<i>New Dictionary of Theology</i> , edd. S. B. Ferguson <i>et al.</i> , Leicester UK 1988
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NIDCC</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. J. D. Douglas, Grand Rapids 1974
<i>NPNF</i>	<i>Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First and Second Series</i> , 14 + 14 vols., edd. P. Schaff and H. Wace, Grand Rapids 1961 (1890–1900)
<i>NSHERK</i>	<i>The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> , 12 vols., ed. S. M. Jackson, New York 1908–12
<i>NT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTA</i>	<i>New Testament Apocrypha</i> , 2 vols., ed. W. Schneemelcher, Cambridge ² 1992
<i>NTAb</i>	<i>New Testament Abstracts</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OCD</i>	<i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , edd. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard, Oxford ² 1970
<i>OCP</i>	<i>The Oxford Companion to Philosophy</i> , ed. T. Honderich, Oxford 1995
<i>ODCC</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> , ed. F. L. Cross, London 1966
<i>OED</i>	<i>The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary</i> , 2 vols., Oxford ² 1972
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols., ed. J. H. Charlesworth, Garden City NY 1985
<i>par(r)</i>	parallel(s)
<i>PT</i>	Portuguese Text (translation)
<i>PTR</i>	<i>Princeton Theological Review</i>
<i>PW</i>	<i>Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Wissenschaft</i> , edd. A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, W. Kroll, Stuttgart 1893–
<i>Q</i>	Traditions common to Matthew and Luke
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RBén</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
<i>RE</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>

RÉG	<i>Revue des Études Grecques</i>
RGG ³	<i>Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , 7 vols., ed. K. Galling, Tübingen 1957–65
RQ	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de Science Religieuse</i>
RTL	<i>Revue Théologique de Louvain</i>
RTP	<i>Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie</i>
SB	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i>
SC	<i>Sources Chrétiennes</i>
SEA	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
SH	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
SIG	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 4 vols., ed. W. Dittenberger, Hildesheim 1982 (1915–24)
SJT	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
SNTU	<i>Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt</i>
Socino	<i>Babylonian Talmud. Socino Edition</i> , 18 vols., ed. I. Epstein, London 1948–52
SP	<i>Studia Papyrologica</i>
SPat	<i>Studia Patristica</i>
ST	<i>Studia Theologica</i>
SWBTS	Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary
SWJT	<i>Southwestern Journal of Theology</i>
T	Synoptic Gospels, Triple Tradition; Tosefta
TB	<i>Tyndale Bulletin</i>
TBeit	<i>Theologische Beiträge</i>
TCERK	<i>Twentieth Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge</i> , 2 vols., ed. L. A. Loetscher, Grand Rapids 1955
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , 10 vols., ed. G. Kittel, tr. G. Bromiley, Grand Rapids 1964–76 (1933–73)
Tg	Targum
ThTijd	<i>Theologisch Tijdschrift</i>
TLG	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae: CD Rom #D</i> , Irvine CA 1992; cf. <i>Thesaurus Linguae Graecae. Canon of Greek Authors and Works</i> , edd. L. Berkowitz <i>et al.</i> , Oxford 1990
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
TR	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TRE	<i>Theologische Realencyclopädie</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSK	<i>Theologische Studien und Kritiken</i>
TU	<i>Texte und Untersuchungen</i>
TWNT	<i>Theologische Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
TZT	<i>Tübinger Zeitschrift für Theologie</i>
USQR	<i>Union Seminary Quarterly Review</i>
VF	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
War	Josephus, <i>The Jewish War</i>
WdF	<i>Wege der Forschung</i>
WTJ	<i>Westminster Theological Journal</i>
WUNT	<i>Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament</i>
WW	<i>Word and World</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins</i>
ZNTW	<i>Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>
ZWT	<i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i>

A. THE PERSON OF JESUS

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL JESUS AND THE GOSPELS

CONFESSIONAL PRESUPPOSITIONS

The modern quest for the 'historical Jesus' began in the 1700s¹ and was divided by confessional presuppositions and by questions about the sources of the Gospels and about the transmission of their traditions.² At the confessional level it proceeded in part from the assumptions of Christian theism³ and in part from the worldview of the Enlightenment in which all effects in history and nature must have their cause in history and nature.⁴ In this respect the Enlightenment represented, as Peter Gay has demonstrated,⁵ a modern form of ancient Epicureanism in which the world is conceived as a closed continuum of cause and effect sealed off from influences by the gods. It provided the background and framework of the rationalist 'Lives' of Jesus that were summed up by Albert Schweitzer and climaxed by his own 'apocalyptic Jesus'.⁶

While the 'Lives' proceeding from theistic presuppositions were a

¹ One might argue that it began already in the mid-second century with Tatian's *Diatessaron*, an interweaving of the four Gospels into one story. Cf. H. W. Hogg, 'The Diatessaron of Tatian,' *ANF* X, 33–138 (translation of the Arabic version); J. H. Hill, *The Earliest Life of Christ*, Edinburgh 1894, ²1910 (apparently via the Latin translation of the Arabic version).

² Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 14–27.

³ E.g. Henry Owen, *Observations on the Four Gospels*, London 1764, esp. 81–114; Augustus Neander, *The Life of Jesus Christ*, New York 1870 (1837).

⁴ E.g. H. S. Reimarus, 'Concerning the Intention of Jesus and His Teaching,' *Reimarus: Fragments*, ed. C. H. Talbert, Philadelphia 1970, 59–269; H. E. G. Paulus, *Das Leben Jesu*, 2 vols., Heidelberg 1828; D. F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus*, London ⁴1902 (1835). The psychologizing rationalism of Paulus, in which Gospel accounts of miracles were interpreted as a misunderstanding by his disciples, gave way to the mythologizing rationalism of Strauss, in which they were interpreted as later fictions created by Christian storytellers.

⁵ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment. An Interpretation. I. The Rise of Modern Paganism*, New York and London ²1977 (1966); Lucretius' *De rerum natura* was apparently the mediator of Epicureanism to the Enlightenment philosophers (cf. 304–308).

⁶ Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, London 1948 (1910), a partial translation of *Von Reimarus zu Wrede*, Tübingen 1906 = *Geschichte der Leben Jesu Forschung*, 2 vols., München 1966.

better guide to Jesus within his first century Jewish context,⁷ the rationalist writers provided the more exciting fare. They not only offered a Jesus stripped of deity and of miracles, quite unlike the figure in the Gospels, but also claimed, not without a certain hubris, to construct an 'objective' historical Jesus based on 'scientific' and 'critical' principles and freed from confessional presuppositions. They were deflated by one of their own, Rudolf Bultmann, who showed that historical reconstruction is never without presuppositions⁸ that are at root confessional, and the subjectivity of their results was movingly described by Gunter Bornkamm:⁹

[At the end of this research] to regain and expound the life of the historical Jesus, freed from all embellishment by dogma and doctrine . . . , stands the recognition of its own failure. Albert Schweitzer has erected its memorial, but at the same time had delivered its funeral oration.

Why have these attempts failed? Perhaps only because it became alarmingly and terrifyingly evident how inevitably each author brought the spirit of his own age into his presentation of the figure of Jesus.

What Bornkamm said of the 'liberal Jesus' also applied in varying degrees to subsequent reconstructions¹⁰ – 'the apocalyptic Jesus,'¹¹ 'the church-created Messiah,'¹² 'the existentialist rabbi,'¹³ the political revolutionary,¹⁴ the Cynic-like philosopher,¹⁵ the Jewish wisdom teacher.¹⁶ Such questers for the 'historical' Jesus were like men peering into a

⁷ E.g. B. Weiss, *The Life of Christ*, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1884; A. Schlatter, *The History of the Christ*, Grand Rapids 1997. Cf. also O. Borchert, *The Original Jesus*, London 1933 = GT: *Der Goldgrund des Lebensbildes Jesu*.

⁸ R. Bultmann, 'Is Exegesis without Presuppositions Possible?' *Existence and Faith*, New York 1960, 289–296 = GT: *TZ* 13 (1957), 409–417.

⁹ G. Bornkamm, *Jesus of Nazareth*, New York 1960, 13 = GT: 11.

¹⁰ Seven of them are summarized and evaluated by J. W. Bowman, *Which Jesus?*, Philadelphia 1970.

¹¹ E.g. Schweitzer (note 6); Johannes Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, Philadelphia 1971 (1892).

¹² E.g. William Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, Cambridge 1971 (1901).

¹³ E.g. R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, London 1935 (1926); idem, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., Nashville 1955, I, 3–32.

¹⁴ E.g. S. G. F. Brandon, *Jesus and the Zealots*, Manchester UK 1967. But see O. Cullmann, *Jesus and the Revolutionaries*, New York 1970; M. Hengel, *Was Jesus a Revolutionist?*, Philadelphia 1971.

¹⁵ E.g. J. D. Crossan, *The Historical Jesus. The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant*, San Francisco 1991. Cf. L. E. Keck, 'The Second Coming of the Liberal Jesus?' *The Christian Century* 111 (1994), 785: 'Crossan regards Jesus as a Jewish edition of the Greco-Roman Cynic.'

¹⁶ E.g. B. Witherington, *Jesus the Sage*, Minneapolis 1994, 201, who offers a brief critique of a Cynic interpretation of Jesus (123–143).

well looking for a precious object in its depths but seeing only the reflection of their own faces.¹⁷

The problem is inevitable since written history *is* interpretation.¹⁸ It may be ameliorated by comprehensive analysis and evaluation,¹⁹ but it is not thereby removed. As Carl Becker has observed, the modern historian does not 'stick to the facts;' the facts stick to him, if he has any ideas to attract them.²⁰ And they stick in direct proportion to his own interests, proclivities and concepts. If in a process of oscillation the facts influence his perspective, his perspective will in turn determine his interest in and interpretation of the facts.²¹ The problem becomes a positive distortion among writers who give free rein to their imagination in order to make Jesus acceptable to their own interests and to modern cultural tastes. For example, J.D. Crossan's 'peasant Jesus' is, one reviewer writes, 'almost totally absorbed into his social role as a countercultural itinerant,' effectively the leader of 'a band of hippies among yuppies.'²² Equally, the 'Seminar Jesus,' as reconstructed in *The Five Gospels*,²³ is, as Otto Betz put it, not really a first century Jew at all but rather a hero of our own times, a strange combination of 'a kind of spiritual *enfant terrible* and troublemaker' who, at the same time, resembles a well-equipped, politically correct American professor.²⁴ The Jesus Seminar represents, in the words of Peter Stuhlmacher, 'an objectifying historical method

¹⁷ Cf. G. Tyrell, *Christianity at the Crossroads*, London 1909, 44. For a critique of the far-fetched reconstructions of B. Thiering (*Jesus and the Riddle of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, San Francisco 1992) and of A. N. Wilson (*Jesus*, London 1992) cf. N. T. Wright, *Who Was Jesus?* Grand Rapids 1992; O. Betz and R. Riesner, *Jesus, Qumran and the Vatican*, London 1994, esp. 99–113.

¹⁸ Cf. B. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, New York 1972, 175–234. Otherwise: I. H. Marshall, *Luke: Historian and Theologian*, Grand Rapids 1989, 25–28, who offers a brief defense of an objectivist theory of historical knowledge.

¹⁹ E.g. J. P. Meier, *A Marginal Jew*, 2 vols., New York 1991, 1994.

²⁰ C. Becker, 'Detachment and the Writing of History,' *Essays and Letters of Carl L. Becker*, ed. P. L. Snyder, Westport CT 1972, 24 = *The Atlantic Monthly* 106 (1910), 534.

²¹ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Historical-Literary Criticism – After Two Hundred Years,' *Proceedings of the Conference [Debate] on Biblical Inerrancy*, edd. M. Ashcraft et al., Nashville 1987, 412–415 = *History and Interpretation in New Testament Perspective*, forthcoming.

²² Keck (note 15), 785f. 'Yuppie' is slang for 'young urban professional.' Cf. Crossan (note 15).

²³ R. W. Funk, R. W. Hoover, and The Jesus Seminar, *The Five Gospels*, New York 1993. For a critique, cf. N. T. Wright, 'Five Gospels but No Gospel,' *Crisis in Christology*, ed. W. R. Farmer, Livonia MI 1995, 115–157.

²⁴ O. Betz, *TLZ* 119 (1994), 990, 989.

long outmoded' that, 'having liberated itself from all supposed ecclesiastical and theological constraints, succumbs to its own prejudices and false judgments.'²⁵

Today²⁶ rationalist 'Lives' remain sharply at odds with those written within a theistic frame of reference.²⁷ They suppose that the 'historical Jesus' can be separated from theology,²⁸ that is, that the issues most central in first century sources – Jesus' miracles, resurrection, indirect and direct claims to deity – can be put outside the discussion. In this respect they resemble the earlier works of Rudolf Bultmann²⁹ and Martin Dibelius,³⁰ which have been criticized by Joseph Ratzinger.³¹

[In] Dibelius and Bultmann, everything has degenerated into an evolutionary pattern of an almost intolerable simplicity . . . With such pre-suppositions, the figure of Jesus is predetermined.

While rationalist scholarship has been the driving force in the quest and has even claimed the 'historical' Jesus as its brand name, it followed a deductive method, dismissed evidence that did not fit its

²⁵ P. Stuhlmacher, *How To Do Biblical Theology*, Allison Park PA 1995, xi; cf. M. J. Wilkins and J. P. Moreland, ed., *Jesus Under Fire: Modern Scholarship Reinvents the Historical Jesus*, Grand Rapids 1995; R. B. Hays, 'The Corrected Jesus,' *First Things* 43 (1994), 43–48: 'The depiction of Jesus [in *The Five Gospels*] . . . is – quite simply – an ahistorical fiction' (47).

²⁶ For the earlier research, cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Dreissig Jahre Jesusforschung (1950–1980)*, Bonn 1985; (briefly) B. F. Meyer, *The Aims of Jesus*, London 1979, 48–59; H. K. McArthur, *In Search of the Historical Jesus*, New York 1969.

²⁷ E.g. P. Stuhlmacher, *Jesus of Nazareth – Christ of Faith*, Peabody MA 1994; idem, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments I*, Göttingen 1992, 40–161; O. Betz, *Jesus Der Messias Israels*, Tübingen 1987; G. Lohfink, *Jesus and Community*, Philadelphia 1984; Meyer (note 26); E. Trocmé, *Jesus*, London 1973; C. H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity*, London 1971; idem, *According to the Scriptures*, London ³1953, 108ff.; X. Léon-Dufour, *The Gospels and the Jesus of History*, London 1971; L. Cerfaux, *Jésus aux origines de la tradition*, Louvain 1968; E. Stauffer, *Jesus and His Story*, London 1960; H. E. W. Turner, *Jesus Master and Lord*, London ³1957.

²⁸ Cf. E. P. Sanders, *The Historical Figure of Jesus*, London 1993, 135: '... my view is historical rather than dogmatic.' Funk (note 23), xviii: 'The Scholar's Version [of the Gospels] is free of ecclesiastical and religious control . . . [It] is authorized by scholars.'

²⁹ Cf. Bultmann (note 13); idem, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, Oxford 1963 (⁵1961, ¹1921).

³⁰ M. Dibelius, *The Message of Jesus*, New York 1939; idem, *From Tradition to Gospel*, New York 1965 (²1933, ¹1919).

³¹ J. Ratzinger, 'L'interpretazione biblica in conflitto: Problemi del fondamento ed orientamento dell' esegesi contemporanea,' *L'Egesis christiana oggi*, edd. I. de la Potterie et al., Rome ²1992, 93–125, 109.

desired conclusions and prompted Jacob Neusner, whose fellow Jews have contributed to the quest,³² to make this indictment:³³

By excluding to begin with all that is the transcendent and supernatural in the Gospels, none of the proposed historical Jesuses explains the advent of Christianity, but only a trivial reform movement in Judaism, such as Christianity never was. Beginning where they do, the diverse historical Jesuses expose a single flaw: each answers peripheral questions, and all ignore the critical and urgent one.

Research on Jesus' ministry is very likely to remain on separate paths at the confessional level, where the impassible gulf is as deep today as it was in the eighteenth century. But it may approach more agreement on the limited questions of (1) Gospel sources and (2) form criticism.

QUESTIONS ABOUT Q AND PSEUDO-THOMAS

Decisive for nineteenth and early twentieth-century source and form criticism of the Gospels were, respectively, monographs by Herbert Marsh³⁴ of Cambridge and Johann Gottfried Herder³⁵ of Weimar, published 200 years ago. Marsh departed from J. J. Griesbach's view of an original Matthew, first used by Luke and both drawn on by Mark, and from J. G. Eichhorn's view of an underlying Primal Gospel³⁶ and posited two Hebrew source documents. He argued that the first (ס) was a narrative of facts, used in different recensions by the three Synoptic Evangelists, and the second (ב) a collection of precepts, parables and discourses . . . used only by St. Matthew and

³² E.g. G. Vermes, *The Religion of Jesus the Jew*, Minneapolis 1993; idem, *Jesus the Jew*, London 1973; H. J. Schonfield, *The Passover Plot*, London 1965; J. Klausner, *Jesus of Nazareth*, London 1929. Cf. C. G. Montefiore, *Some Elements of the Religious Teaching of Jesus*, London 1910.

³³ J. Neusner, 'Who Needs the Historical Jesus?' *Rabbinic Literature and the New Testament*, Valley Forge PA 1994, 169–184, 184.

³⁴ H. Marsh, 'Origin and Composition of Our Three First Canonical Gospels' (1801) in J. D. Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 4 vols. in 6, London 1823 (1793–1801 = GT: 1788), III, ii, 161–409. Marsh wrote his essay in 1798.

³⁵ J. G. Herder, *Vom Erlöser der Menschen*, Riga 1796; idem, *Von Gottes Sohn*, Riga 1797, reprinted in idem, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. B. Suphan, 33 vols., Hildesheim 1994 (1877–1913), XIX, 135–252, 253–424.

³⁶ In an essay 'Über die drey ersten Evangelien,' published in *Allgemeine Bibliothek der biblischen Literatur* 5 (1794), 759–996, cited in Marsh (note 34), III, ii, 191f. Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 78 = GT: 92.

St. Luke . . . [in] different copies. . . .³⁷ Thus, Marsh initiated the two-document (= two-source) hypothesis in which the documents were later identified, respectively, as a proto-Mark and Q.³⁸

In Germany the two-document hypothesis vied with that of Griesbach in a debate involving theological and cultural rivalries and philosophical dogmas.³⁹ In spite of opposition,⁴⁰ it became dominant and with the support of British scholars⁴¹ achieved a widespread consensus in the early twentieth century. Since then a number of critiques have undermined its credibility. They included renewed objections to Markan priority,⁴² growing doubts about the hypothetical document Q and a revived and modified Griesbach hypothesis,⁴³ whose advocates⁴⁴ have been more successful in their critique than in the establishment of their alternative.⁴⁵ Others continued to accept Markan priority but rejected the hypothetical document Q⁴⁶

³⁷ Marsh (note 34), III, ii, 178–200, 362–409, 373–377, 368. W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, Macon GA ³1982 (1964), 11–15, summarizes Marsh's thesis.

³⁸ The discussion was summed up and the two-document hypothesis made dominant by the Heidelberg professor, H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Synoptischen Evangelien*, Leipzig 1863, esp. 75, 455–486. Cf. Kümmel (note 36), 151–155 = GT: 185–191. Further, in critique, cf. H. H. Stoldt, *History and Criticism of the Marcan Hypothesis*, Macon GA 1980, 69–93; H. U. Meijboom, *A History and Critique of the Origin of the Marcan Hypothesis 1835–1866*, tr. and ed. J. J. Kiwiet, Macon GA 1993, 71–81: 'From beginning to end [Holtzmann] posited the Marcan hypothesis as a proven fact, in order then on the other hand to act as if he was providing a conclusive argument' (81).

³⁹ On the debate in Germany 1850–1866 cf. Meijboom (note 38), 65–94; on cultural rivalries cf. W. R. Farmer, *The Gospel of Jesus*, Louisville 1994, 146–160; on Hegelian affinities with the Griesbachian theory cf. F. C. Baur, *Die Kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, 567; K. Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1972, 504f. = GT: 455f.

⁴⁰ E.g. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols., Grand Rapids 1953 (³1909), II, 367–617 = GT: Wuppertal 1994, II, 163–452; idem, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, Wuppertal 1984 (¹1922), 20–32.

⁴¹ E.g. W. Sanday, ed., *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, Oxford 1911; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London 1924, 150–360.

⁴² E.g. J. Chapman, *Matthew Mark and Luke. A Study in the Order and Interrelation of the Synoptic Gospels*, London 1937; B. C. Butler, *The Originality of St. Matthew. A Critique of the Two-Document Hypothesis*, Cambridge 1951.

⁴³ The modern advocates, at least in part, appear to be more open to written traditions underlying each of the Gospels than were their eighteenth and nineteenth-century predecessors. Cf. Farmer (note 37), 199–283.

⁴⁴ A good number of them contributed to or are footnoted in the symposium, *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990.

⁴⁵ Cf. C. M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity. Studies on Q*, Peabody MA 1996, 11–16; idem, 'Response to the Two Gospel Hypothesis,' in Dungan (note 44), 47–76; Ellis (note 2), 16f.

⁴⁶ A. Farrer, 'On Dispensing with Q,' *Studies in the Gospels [for] R. H. Lightfoot*, ed. D. E. Nineham, Oxford 1955, 55–86, and Farrer's pupil, M. Goulder, *Luke: A New Paradigm*, 2 vols., Sheffield 1989, I, 27–71.

and, with a different approach, my teacher Bo Reicke argued for a mutual use of common traditions by Matthew and Mark and for a relatively direct movement from traditions to our present Gospels without the intervention of larger source documents.⁴⁷

'Minor agreements' between Matthew and Luke against Mark in episodes occurring in all three Gospels were recognized in the 1920s and became a major obstacle for the two-document hypothesis.⁴⁸ It is now apparent that they are neither minor nor coincidental but are very widespread in a variety of Gospel episodes – narratives,⁴⁹ expositions (midrashim),⁵⁰ miracles,⁵¹ parables⁵² and dialogues.⁵³ On the assumption of the independence of Matthew and Luke, they identify Q either as a Primal Gospel, returning full circle to Eichhorn, or more likely as a considerable number and variety of episodic pieces used in common by two or three Evangelists.⁵⁴ And they discredit the theory that Q was a document of 'sayings,' a view that has been mistakenly tied to Papias' λόγια.⁵⁵

⁴⁷ B. Reicke, *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*, Philadelphia 1986, 180–189, passim.

⁴⁸ Cf. Streeter (note 41), 295–331. The dimensions of the problem are recognized by R. A. Piper, ed., *The Gospel Behind the Gospels*, Leiden 1994, 8–11.

⁴⁹ E.g. Mt 3:1–17; 17:1–13; 21:1–17. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 310–333, 317, 324ff.; idem (note 2), 339, 346ff.

⁵⁰ E.g. Mt 12:1–8; 21:33–46; 22:23–33; 22:41–46; 24:1–36. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991 = Grand Rapids 1992, 98, 136n, 127n, 103n; idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978 = Grand Rapids 1993, 157f., 154.

⁵¹ E.g. Mt 8:1–4, 8:14–17, 9:1–8, 9:18–26, 12:22–32 (healings); 8:23–27, 9:18–26, 14:13–21 (nature miracles). Cf. Ellis, (note 2), 338.

⁵² E.g. Mt 13:1–9; 13:18–23; 13:31f.

⁵³ E.g. Mt 13:10–17; 21:23–27 (12:46–50; 22:15–22).

⁵⁴ Cf. Reicke (note 47), 150–189, passim; Ellis (note 49), 327–333; idem (note 2), 349–356.

⁵⁵ E.g. by J. M. Robinson, 'Logoi Sophon: on the Gattung of Q,' *The Future of our Religious Past*, ed. J. M. Robinson, London 1971, 87f. = GT: *Zeit und Geschichte*. FS R. Bultmann, ed. E. Dinkler, Tübingen 1964, 79f. But see Farmer (note 39), 163–167; R. H. Gundry, 'Recent Investigations into the Literary Genre "Gospel,"' *New Dimensions in New Testament Studies*, edd. R. N. Longenecker et al., Grand Rapids 1974, 105ff. Papias, as recorded by Eusebius (*HE* 3, 39, 15f.), states that 'Mark, having become Peter's interpreter. . . wrote . . . the things either said or done (ἢ λεχθέντα ἢ πραχθέντα) by the Lord. . . [He followed] Peter, who used to give the teachings with reference to the [transmitted Gospel] episodes (πρὸς τὰς χρείας), but not making a connected account of the dominical oracles (λογίων). So Mark did nothing wrong in thus writing down single points as he remembered them. . . Matthew collected the oracles (λόγια) in the Hebrew language.' The 'oracles' refer to the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark and are 'obviously equivalent to "what was either said or done by the Lord" [mentioned] above – not merely his sayings' (H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton, *Eusebius*, 2 vols., London 1954, II, 116). So also J. S. Kloppenborg, *The Formation of Q*, Philadelphia 1987, 53f.; G. Kittel, 'λόγιον,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942),

The quest for a document Q has energized mighty endeavors but has yielded no identifiable and agreed entity. Those convinced of its reality (1) have brought forth numerous hypotheses, already sixteen varieties early in this century⁵⁶ and many more since then.⁵⁷ (2) They often assume without evidence that the Q they reconstruct is the whole document and that, therefore, from common themes⁵⁸ or from a common sequence in Matthew and Luke of some Q episodes⁵⁹ they can infer the theology and the unity of the whole. Thus, they created not only a hypothetical document but also a hypothetical community with a hypothetical theology to go with it. (3) They have not adequately addressed⁶⁰ the fatal implications for the hypothesis of the many and all kinds of Synoptic episodes in which agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark appear.⁶¹ On the whole they seem to have engaged in a massive begging of the question in which each writer, having assumed the reality of what he is seeking, proceeds to create that reality from the texts that he has selected and collated.

A fourth-fifth century AD Coptic manuscript of Jesus' sayings, 'The Gospel according to Thomas,' is thought by some to provide a historical analogy for the 'Q' hypothesis.⁶² Found at Nag Hammadi, Egypt, in 1947, it is apparently related to the Gospel of Thomas

140f. On $\chi\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel,' *The Four Gospels* 1992, FS F. Neirynck, ed. F. Van Segbroeck, Leuven 1992, 801f. = GT: *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* ed. B. Mayer, Regensburg 1992, 196 = idem (note 2), 357f.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, Edinburgh 1920, 197–202.

⁵⁷ Some are discussed in Kloppenborg (note 55), 80–87, 90–92.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. Catchpole, *The Quest for Q*, Edinburgh 1993, 59: 'Whether all the "q"s add up to form a composite Q depends on whether there is general theological congruence. . . .'

⁵⁹ Cf. V. Taylor, *New Testament Essays*, London 1970, 92f.; W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, Nashville 1975 (¹⁷1973), 65f. Kloppenborg (note 55), 68f., points out some weaknesses and, listing the whole Double Tradition, shows how much does not have a common sequence (74ff.). Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke, Revised Edition*, Grand Rapids ¹1996 (¹1974), 21–24.

⁶⁰ Pace T. A. Friedrichsen, 'The Matthew-Luke Agreements against Mark,' *L'Evangile de Luc*, ed. F. Neirynck, Leuven ²1989, 335–392, 383f.

⁶¹ See above, notes 49–53. But see R. H. Gundry, who argues that 'Matthean foreign bodies in agreements of Luke with Matthew against Mark [are] evidence that Luke used Matthew' (*The Four Gospels* 1992, FS F. Neirynck, Ed. F. Van Segbroeck, 3 vols., Leuven 1992, II, 1467–1495) as well as Q. How then does Q differ from a proto-Matthew or a Primal Gospel?

⁶² E.g. J. M. Robinson, 'On Bridging the Gulf from Q to the Gospel of Thomas (or Vice Versa),' *Nag Hammadi, Gnosticism, and Early Christianity*, edd. C. W. Hedrick et al., Peabody MA 1986, 127–175; P. Vielhauer, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*,

attributed by Cyril of Jerusalem (c. AD 315–386) to the Manicheans⁶³ and to the Gospel attributed by Hippolytus (c. AD 170–236) to the Naasenes.⁶⁴ Its Greek *Vorlage* is attested in some form by three fragments of parts of 18 sayings from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt, dated to the (early) third century.⁶⁵ Pseudo-Thomas has similarities with other apocryphal Gospels of that period (Gospel of Philip; Gospel of the Hebrews; Gospel of the Egyptians)⁶⁶ and displays a dependence on the Synoptic Gospels, with a Gnostic twisting of some sayings and with some special affinities with the Gospel of Luke.⁶⁷ It may have been created in the later second century, but there is no earlier evidence for it. It is ascribed by some to the mid-first century,⁶⁸ apparently on an analogy with Q as a 'sayings' document. But this view of Q no longer has any critical basis. Furthermore, while there were 'gnosticizing' tendencies among the judaizing opponents to the missions of James, Paul and Peter,⁶⁹ the Gospel of Thomas, as Werner

Berlin 1975, 621f. The manuscript is dated to c. AD 400; cf. H. C. Puech, 'Gnostic Gospels and Related Documents,' *E. Hennecke New Testament Apocrypha*, 2 vols., ed. W. Schneemelcher, London ³1963, I, 282 = GT: I, 202.

⁶³ Cyril, *Catechetical Lectures* 4, 36: ἔγραψαν καὶ Μανιχαῖοι κατὰ θωμᾶν εὐαγγέλιον.

⁶⁴ Hippolytus, *Refut.* 5, 7, 21 = 5, 2, 21. Epiphanius (c. AD 315–403; *Panarion* 26, 8, 1) states that the Gnostics 'have ventured to compose other Gospels in the names of the disciples.'

⁶⁵ Oxy. Papyri I, 654, 655. Cf. Puech (note 62), I, 297 = GT: I, 214; O. Hofius, 'Das koptische Thomasevangelium und die Oxyrhynchus Papyri,' *EvT* 20 (1960), 21–42, 182–192; J. A. Fitzmyer, 'The Oxyrhynchus Logoi of Jesus and the Coptic Gospel according to Thomas,' *Essays on the Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids ³1997, 355–433 = *TS* 20 (1959), 505–560: Although 'the Greek text . . . represents a different recension [of the Nag Hammadi *Thomas*], we [do not have] evidence to say that this represents the *Gospel according to Thomas* which Hippolytus ascribed to the Naasenes' (418); H. G. E. White, *The Sayings of Jesus from Oxyrhynchus*, Cambridge 1920, xi–lxxvi; B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, edd., *New Sayings of Jesus and Fragment of a Lost Gospel*, London 1904.

⁶⁶ Puech (note 62), I, 297–307 = GT: 214–223; cf. idem, *En quête de la Gnose*, 2 vols., Paris 1978, II, 93–284, especially for parallels with Gnostic themes and writings.

⁶⁷ Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 50), 206: The Gospel of Thomas 65–66 'shows a clear dependence on the Lukan text-form: the absence of an allusion to Is 5, the singular καρπός, the sending of individual servants, the word "perhaps" (Luke 20:13, ἵσως = *meshak*) and the abbreviated form of Ps 118: 22.' Cf. K. R. Snodgrass, 'The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen: Is the Gospel of Thomas Version the Original?' *NTS* 21 (1975), 142ff.; H. Schürmann, 'Das Thomasevangelium und das lukanische Sondergut,' *BZ* 7 (1963), 236–260: For a number of sayings *Thomas* is dependent upon the canonical Gospel of Luke (260).

⁶⁸ E.g. Crossan (note 15), 427f.; Funk (note 23), 18. But see B. Ehlers [-Aland], 'Kann das Thomasevangelium aus Edessa stammen?' *NT* 12 (1970), 284–317. On the character of Q see above, notes 49–54.

⁶⁹ Cf. R. McL. Wilson, *Gnosis and the New Testament*, Philadelphia 1968, 31–59;

Kümmel has observed, 'presupposes the transformation of Jesus into the role of a Gnostic revealer, and shows in this way that it is a literary form of a later period.'⁷⁰ It is of no use for a critical reconstruction of the historical Jesus.

FROM JESUS TO THE GOSPELS

In late eighteenth-century Germany J. G. Herder, who apparently had read studies of oral folklore in ancient Greece⁷¹ and perhaps in medieval Germany, anachronistically attributed the transmission of religious traditions in first-century Jewish Palestine to a similar process.⁷² He was followed in some respects by the English scholar B. F. Westcott⁷³ and by the classical form criticism of the 1920s,⁷⁴ whose approach was summarized in the famous slogan of Martin Dibelius, 'In the beginning was the preaching.'⁷⁵ Many early form

Ellis (note 2), 314–318; idem, 'Paul and his Opponents,' 'Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Jude,' *Prophecy* (note 50) 89–115, 230–236; e.g. cf. Jude 4, 8 with II Cor 12:1, 11, 21; Col 2:18, 23 and II Pet 2:19, 13f. with II Cor 11:3; 12:21; II Tim 3:6.

⁷⁰ Kümmel (note 59), 76. Cf. R. M. Grant and D. N. Freedman, *The Secret Sayings of Jesus*, London 1960, 16: The Gospel of Thomas 'is probably our most significant witness to the perversion of Christianity by those who wanted to create Jesus in their own image.'

⁷¹ I.e. F. A. Wolff, 'Prolegomena,' *Homeri et Homeridarum*, Halis ²1794; cf. W. Ihne, 'Homerus,' *DGRBM* II, 501–512; Kümmel (note 36), 82 = GT: 98.

⁷² Herder, *Erlöser* (note 35), 196f., 211–215; cf. Kümmel (note 36), 80f. Herder (213) thought that Luke himself had 'orally received' from apostles and 'oral evangelists' (ὀπηρεῖται τοῦ λόγου) the traditions he used in his Gospel (Lk 1:2). Cf. Herder, *Gottes Sohn* (note 35), 81f.; Kümmel (note 36), 81f. = GT: 97. See below, note 73. Cf. also J. K. L. Gieseler, *Historisch-Kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung der Evangelien*, Leipzig 1818; but see Kümmel (note 36), 83f. = GT: 99. Further, cf. W. Schmithals, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin 1985, 71–85.

⁷³ B. F. Westcott, *An Introduction to the Study of the Gospels*, London ¹1888 (¹1851), 165–184: '[T]he characteristic work of the Apostles was preaching and not writing; . . . this oral Gospel of the Apostles was historic[al] . . . [and] . . . rested on the details of [Christ's] life . . .' (183). Both Westcott and Herder (*Erlöser*, note 35, 213f.; *Gottes Sohn*, note 35, 417f.; cf. Kümmel, note 36, 81f. = GT: 96f.) regarded the oral Gospel, however, to be a relatively accurate transmission of an apostolic leadership circle.

⁷⁴ Esp. Bultmann (note 29); Dibelius, *Tradition* (note 30); K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, Darmstadt 1964 (1919). Cf. A. Albertz, *Die Synoptische Streitgespräche*, Berlin 1921, 3; V. Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition*, London 1933; F. Hahn, ed., *Zur Formgeschichte des Evangeliums*, Darmstadt 1985; D. Dormeyer, *Evangelium als literarische und theologische Gattung*, Darmstadt 1989, 76–107. Kümmel ([note 36] 82, 330 = GT: 98, 442) notes how Herder 'prepared the way for the insights of the form-critical view. . . .'

⁷⁵ M. Dibelius, *Botschaft und Geschichte*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1955, I, 242; cf. idem,

critics presupposed that Jesus traditions were transmitted as a freely elaborated oral folklore by 'the community' and began a 'written stage' of transmission only when Christianity's expectation of a near-term end of the age began to wane.⁷⁶ Thus, they and their followers⁷⁷ believed that a story or saying attributed to Jesus by any jackleg preacher or prophet could be accepted in the tradition and then in the Gospels.⁷⁸ Developments in both literary and historical research have made this whole approach doubtful.

From a literary perspective (1) the Gospel traditions give no indication of a prior oral stage of transmission,⁷⁹ and (2) in the narratives,⁸⁰ miracle stories,⁸¹ biblical expositions⁸² and other forms they exhibit uniform patterns which, oral or written, reflect *ab initio* a carefully cultivated design and construction.⁸³ (3) They also reflect a

Tradition (note 30), 9–36 = GT: 8–34. But see B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, Grand Rapids 1998, xxii n: 'The thesis "in the beginning was the sermon (*kerygma*)" was brilliant as a point of departure for Christian theology. But as a historical statement it is simply incorrect.'

⁷⁶ Cf. Dibelius, *Tradition* (note 30) 9 = GT: 9: 'The company of unlettered people which expected the end of the world any day had neither the capacity nor the inclination for the production of books, . . . The materials which have been handed down to us in the Gospels lived in these decades an unliterary life or had indeed as yet no life at all.' However, Dibelius recognized that already in the 40s 'Paul must have also received collections of the sayings of Jesus which he made use of in I Cor vii and ix,' and even in the 30s 'there were already in existence texts in Greek about events from the life of Jesus' (294 = GT: 294). Bultmann (note 29, 6f. = GT: 7f., *passim*) used 'folk tradition' analogies more extensively but regarded the differences between 'an oral or written stage of tradition to be relatively unimportant' (48, cf. 87, 322 = GT: 50, cf. 91, 348).

⁷⁷ Cf. W. H. Kelber, *The Oral and the Written Gospel*, Philadelphia 1983, 1–89, and the literature cited.

⁷⁸ There was doubtless folklore about Jesus, and some of it may have been incorporated into second-century apocryphal Gospels. But that is a different question.

⁷⁹ As is recognized for narrative material by Bultmann's pupil, W. Schmithals (note 72), 313. But his distinction between narratives and sayings and discourses is without logic and is attributed to his dogmatic commitments by K. Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*, Heidelberg 1984, 14.

⁸⁰ E.g. Mt 3:1–17 T + Q; 17:1–13 T + Q; 21:1–17 T + Q + John. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 338; *idem* (note 49), 315f. T + Q refers to episodes in all three Synoptic Gospels (T) that have agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark (Q).

⁸¹ E.g. Mt 8:1–4 T + Q; 9:1–8 T + Q. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 341–345; *idem* (note 49), 319–322.

⁸² E.g. Mt. 12:1–8 T + Q; 22:23–33 T + Q. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 50), 154, 157ff.; *idem*, *Old Testament* (note 50), 98, 103n, 127n, 136n; cf. L. Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, Lund 1966; P. Borgen, *Bread from Heaven*, Leiden 1965; J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Assen 1954.

⁸³ The analysis generally supports the theses of H. Schürmann, B. Gerhardsson, R. Riesner and S. Byrskog. Cf. H. Schürmann, *Jesus*, Paderborn 1993, 85–135,

continuous traditioning process in which a transition from oral communal folkloric techniques to the written individually-designed patterns and techniques observable in the Gospels would be virtually impossible: A folkloric origin of the Gospel traditions is thereby excluded.⁸⁴ (4) References in the Gospels to 'hearing' refer not to an oral transmission of tradition but to oral proclamation, often of written texts.⁸⁵ (5) The second-century Fathers' free citation of Jesus' sayings likewise is no support for their oral transmission since it is equally present in their citation of written Old Testament texts.⁸⁶ (6) The attraction to 'orality' expressed in Greco-Roman literature⁸⁷ appears as a preference not for oral transmission of tradition but for discussion with an eyewitness,⁸⁸ for a writer's oral delivery⁸⁹ or for an expert at hand.⁹⁰

Historically considered, the transmission of religious traditions in early Judaism and Christianity also does not favor an oral folkloric explanation. In first-century Judaism, both at Qumran⁹¹ and in the

380-397; Gerhardsson (note 75); cf. idem, *The Gospel Tradition*, Lund 1986; idem, '... Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels,' in Wansbrough (note 49), 266-309; R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer*, Tübingen 1988; idem, 'Jesus as Preacher and Teacher,' in Wansbrough (note 49), 185-210; S. Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher: Didactic Authority and Transmission in Ancient Israel, Ancient Judaism and the Matthean Community*, Stockholm 1994.

⁸⁴ Cf. E. Güttgemanns, *Candid Questions Concerning Gospel Form Criticism*, Pittsburgh PA 1979, 136-139, 200-211 = GT: 103ff., 140-150: Dibelius' theory of oral preaching 'no longer comports with the findings of contemporary research' (139 = GT: 105). Cf. Ellis (note 2), 21-27; idem, *Prophecy* (note 50), 244.

⁸⁵ E.g. 'He who has ears to hear' (Mt 11:15; 13:9, 43; cf. 13:16 par; Mk 4:23). The phrase 'you have heard that it was said' (Mt 5:21; cf. 5:27, 33, 38, 43) probably refers to oral interpretation of the Scriptures read in synagogue or in a rabbinical school; cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Peabody MA 1994, 55-62. But see H. D. Betz, *The Sermon on the Mount*, Minneapolis 1995, 200-214, 215ff.

⁸⁶ See below, Chapter XVI, 239ff. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 352ff.

⁸⁷ Cf. L. Alexander, 'The Living Voice,' *The Bible in Three Dimensions*, edd. D. J. A. Clines et al., Sheffield UK 1990, 221-247.

⁸⁸ E.g. Papias *apud* Eusebius *HE* 3, 39, 4, who, rather than 'things from books,' preferred 'the living and surviving voice' (Lake) of an apostle of Christ. Clement (*Stromateis* I, 1) contrasts his own weak (written) efforts with the power of his teachers' (oral) instruction but, *pace* Alexander (note 87, 221f.), gives no precedence to orality as such.

⁸⁹ E.g. Quintilian *Inst.* 2, 2, 8; Pliny, *Letters* 2, 3, 9; cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford 1966, 147f.

⁹⁰ E.g. Galen, *de compos. med. sec.* VI, cited by Alexander (note 87), 224f.

⁹¹ This is implicit in the multiple copies of many Qumran writings, their use in worship (VanderKam), the role of the Teacher of Righteousness (Cross), the community's organization and instruction of adherents (Schiffman, Weinfeld). Cf. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, Sheffield UK 1995, 120, 161ff.; J. C. VanderKam,

rabbinic schools,⁹² it was a controlled and cultivated process, and it was the same for Jesus traditions:⁹³ (1) Mt 24:15 and Mk 13:14 disclose that Jesus' eschatological discourse (Mt 24 parr) was read in Christian synagogues of the Jacobean and Petrine missions, probably from AD 40.⁹⁴ A decade later written summaries of his teachings, the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7) and on the Plain (Lk 6) were apparently in similar use.⁹⁵ (2) The Synoptic Gospels as a whole display no knowledge of events of AD 65–70 that are highly relevant to their themes, and they can hardly be dated after the mid-60s. They also could scarcely have been created via a process of oral folklore to written units to composed Gospels within three decades of the events.⁹⁶ (3) The occasion for writing in earliest Christianity was not chronological distance but geographical distance, that is, the separation of the congregations from the leadership.⁹⁷ But it was already at hand during the preresurrection ministry of Jesus, who had adherents in both Galilee and Judea. Therefore, it is likely that some teachings of Jesus were put in writing for clusters of adherents

The Dead Sea Scrolls Today, Grand Rapids 1994, 44f., 60–64; L. H. Schiffman, *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Atlanta 1989, 8f., passim; idem, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, Chico CA 1983, 39f., passim; M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect*, Göttingen 1986.

⁹² Cf. the synagogue debate at Mt 12:9–14 parr; cf. Jn 18:20. 'In Jerusalem . . . lessons were also given "in the Temple,"' E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh ²1973–1987, II, 334; cf. 333f., 415f., 424f. Cf. Luke 2:46; Mt 21:23–27 parr; 21:33–46 T + Q; 22:15–22 T + Q; 22:34–40 T + Q; 22:41–46 T + Q; Jn 7:14 (8:2f.); 8:17–20; 10:22–26; Philo *vit. Mos.* II, 39 (216); Riesner, 'Preacher' (note 83), 189ff. On T + Q see above, note 80.

⁹³ Cf. Gerhardsson, *Memory* (note 83), 258: All historical probability favors the conclusion that Jesus' disciples would have accorded his words 'at least the same degree of respect as the pupils of a Rabbi accorded the words of their master!' Cf. W. D. Davies, *The Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, 466n.

⁹⁴ Cf. G. Theissen, *The Gospels in Context*, Minneapolis 1991, 125–165 = GT: *Lokalkolorit*, 133–176; B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark*, New Haven CT 1925, 53–66.

⁹⁵ Cf. Betz (note 85), 88: 'These approaches and aims [of the Sermon] most likely reflect the situation of the early Christian movement prior to and concurrent with Paul's letters (c. 50 CE).'

⁹⁶ Even if, as is commonly supposed, only the Gospel of Mark is dated to c. AD 70, the conclusion remains the same. For the pre-70 origin of Matthew and Luke cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, London 1976, 91–117 = GT: 99–126; R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, Grand Rapids 1982 (²1994), 599–609; Reicke (note 47), 174–177; C. P. Thiede, *Rekindling the Word: Jesus, Qumran and the Papyri*, Valley Forge PA 1995. See Ellis (note 2), 289–292, 357–376, 389ff.

⁹⁷ E.g. the Jerusalem Decree (Acts 15:23–29); apostolic letters. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'New Directions in Form Criticism,' *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie. FS H. Conzelmann*, ed. G. Strecker, Tübingen 1975, 299–315, 306 = idem, *Prophecy* (note 50), 237–253, 244.

in various towns and villages, for his 'sedentary followers,' at that time.⁹⁸

These developments in the research have undermined, not to say discredited, any reconstruction of a 'historical Jesus' based upon a folkloric transmission of the Gospel traditions, and they require a different approach to the question.

CONCLUSION

A credible history of Jesus' ministry must rest primarily upon the only significant first-century evidence, i.e. the four canonical Gospels, and then upon other relevant texts relating to his immediate socio-historical context, especially the Qumran writings and the somewhat later rabbinic literature, as they reflect issues and practices of pre-AD 70 Palestinian Judaism. It will, thus, be constructed in a biblically centered framework since Qumran,⁹⁹ the rabbis¹⁰⁰ and the Evangelists, and the religious groups represented by them, display one central concern and virtually only one: the interpretation and application of the ancient Jewish Scriptures to their own observances and future hopes.

In the Gospels Jesus' implicit affirmations of messiahship and, indeed, of deity occur within ministry that is publicly perceived as that of a prophetic teacher or of a teaching prophet.¹⁰¹ in titles,¹⁰² in mir-

⁹⁸ Cf. Riesner, *Lehrer* (note 83), 487–498; idem, 'Preacher' (note 83), 193ff.; Ellis (note 97), 306f. = idem, *Prophecy* (note 50), 244f.

⁹⁹ See especially O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte*, Tübingen 1960.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. D. W. Halivni, *Midrash, Mishnah, and Gemara*, Cambridge MA 1986: 'There was an antecedent [to the Mishnah and Braitha] . . . in Midreshei Halakhah, collections of biblical commentaries . . . ' (3). 'Midrash already existed in the second century before the common era' (21; cf. 18–37). 'The few instances in which the Mishnah [c. AD 200] does not start as usual, with the law followed by a quotation from Scripture, but, like Midreshei Halakhah, begins with a verse from Scripture, amply attest to the Mishnah's receptivity to Midreshei Halakhah' (56).

¹⁰¹ All four Gospels also attest that implicit claims to deity were expressed by Jesus but that his disciples did not recognize them as such until after his resurrection. They ascribe only to the Jewish religious authorities the suspicion and at length conclusion that Jesus made blasphemous claims to divine status, specifically (1) in his claim to forgive sins in his own name (Mt 9:1–8, 2f. T + Q) and (2) in his identification of himself with the 'son of Man' in Dan. 7:13, probably understood in terms of Ezek. 1:26 (Mt 26:64 T + Q). John's Gospel (10:33) summarizes their attitude accurately if bluntly: 'We stone you . . . because you, being a man, make yourself God.' See below, Chapter 3, 38–51. Cf. S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, Tübingen 1984, 239–252; idem, 'The "Son of Man"' as the Son of God, Tübingen 1983, 82–86. On T + Q see above, note 80. See below, Chapters III and VI, 38–51, 76–85.

¹⁰² I.e. 'teacher' (διδάσκαλος = ραββί (e.g. Mt 19:16 par; 22:16 par; Mk 9:5; Jn

acles¹⁰³ and prophetic revelations¹⁰⁴ ascribed to him, in self-designations,¹⁰⁵ and in his activities of gathering pupils (μαθηταί)¹⁰⁶ and of teaching in synagogues¹⁰⁷ and elsewhere.¹⁰⁸ The same is true of his biblical debates with other religious leaders that sometimes had a school setting¹⁰⁹ and that are often summarized in the form of proem¹¹⁰ or *yelammedenu*-like midrashim¹¹¹ and directed to issues of biblical law and other matters that are also discussed in the rabbinic writings.

Jesus was preeminently a teacher of Scripture. His biblical expo-

1:38; 3:2) and 'prophet' (Mt 16:14 par; 21:11; Mk 6:15 par; Lk 4:24; 7:16, 39; 13:33; 24:19; Jn 4:19; 6:14; 7:40). They do not preclude, of course, other or more exalted designations.

'Wise man' (σοφός) is not used of Jesus and only once of his apostles (Mt 23:34 Q), and in the parallel in Lk 11:49, it is equated with 'apostles' (cf. Ellis [note 59], 171ff.), and sometimes has negative connotations (Rom 1:22; I Cor 1:19f., 27; 3:19f.; cf. Jas 3:13f.). Distinguished from the prophet in the Old Testament (e.g. Jer 18:18), it had in some first century texts pretty much merged with 'prophet' to form one spiritual type (cf. Ellis, 'Wisdom and Knowledge in I Corinthians,' *Prophecy* [note 50], 45–62), that is, the *maskil* (Dan 12:10; 1QS 9:12, 18f.; 1QH 12:11ff.) or pneumatic (I Cor 2:13; 3:1; 14:37; Gal 6:1). Cf. Wis 7:27. The wisdom ('σοφία') ascribed to Jesus is that manifested in his teaching in the synagogue, i.e. teaching Scripture (Mk 6:1f. par) and is greater than that ascribed to Solomon. Cf. Lk 11:31 Q; Ellis (note 59), 171ff. on Lk 11:49–51. See also the essays of O. Betz and P. Stuhlmacher in *Tradition and Interpretation. FS E. E. Ellis*, edd. G. F. Hawthorne with O. Betz, Grand Rapids and Tübingen 1987, 204–207, 328–332.

¹⁰³ E.g. Mk 6:14f. par; Lk 7:16; Jn 6:14; 9:17.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Mt 13:16f. par; 4:1–11 Q; 17:1–9 T + Q; Lk 10:18; Jn 4:19; 12:28–31; cf. M. Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, New York 1981, 63–66; Ellis (note 2), 30ff., 42–45. On T + Q see above, note 80.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Mt 13:57 par; Lk 13:33; Jn 4:44; Mt 10:24 Q; Jn 13:13f. Mt. 4:23 par; 9:35 par; 12:9–14 par; 13:54 par; Lk 6:6; 13:10.

¹⁰⁶ Jesus' μαθηταί correspond to the 'pupils' (תלמידים) of a master rabbi (cf. Mk 2:18 par; Mt 22:15f.; K. H. Rengstorff, 'μαθητής,' *TDNT* 4 [1967/1942], 431–449). But unlike them, they include both those who accompany Jesus, basically the Twelve (Mk 3:14), and also others whom he taught on occasion (Mt 5:1 Q; Lk 10:39; Jn 4:1f.; 7:3) and some whom he also sent on teaching missions (Lk 10:1; cf. Ellis, *Luke* [note 59], 154ff.) In Jn 6:66 περιπατεῖν probably does not mean 'to travel with' but 'to go about with' locally or, as elsewhere in John and always in I–III John, 'to live' as his disciples; cf. Jn 11:9f.; 12:35; 21:18.

¹⁰⁷ Mt 4:23 par; 9:35 par; 12:9–14 par; 13:54 par; Lk 6:6; 13:10. Teaching 'on the sabbath' has the same connotation (cf. Mk 1:21 with Lk 4:31).

¹⁰⁸ I.e. in the open (Mt 5:1f.; Mk 2:13) and in the temple (Mt 21:23; 22:16 par; 26:55 par; Mk 12:35; Jn 7:14, 28; 8:20). Cf. Lk 11:1; 23:5; Jn 18:20.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Mt 12:9–14 par; 21:23–27 T + Q; 26:55 par; Lk 2:46; 21:37; Jn 18:20. A 'house of study' (בית מדרש), 'at the time of the Mishnah, and no doubt earlier' (Schürer), was used for disputation and teaching and was associated with the synagogue and with the Temple. Cf. Ben Sira 51:29; M. Ter 11:10; M. Pes 4:4; Schürer (note 92) II, 333f.; K. Kohler, 'Bet Ha-Midrash,' *JE* 3 (1901), 116ff.

¹¹⁰ Mt 21:33–44 T + Q; cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 50), 251f.

¹¹¹ E.g. Mt 12:1–8 T + Q; 15:1–9 par; 19:3–9 par; 22:23–33 T + Q. Cf. Mt 11:7–15; Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 50), 158f.; idem, *Old Testament* (note 50), 98. On T + Q see above, note 80.

sition is the bedrock of the Gospel tradition¹¹² and was necessarily a primary part of his teaching, as it was for the Qumran *maskilim* and for the rabbinic authorities, if he was to receive a hearing in the Torah-centric Judaism of his day. It is evident not only in his synagogue sermons and biblical debates, but also in his instructions on the kingdom of God¹¹³ and on ethics,¹¹⁴ where his teaching is essentially biblical interpretation.¹¹⁵ In the tradition of the Old Testament prophets and of John the Baptist, Jesus' instruction was by word and by deed. Both his geographical strategy and his *modus operandi* – locating his ministry in Galilee¹¹⁶ and at the Temple,¹¹⁷ and his climactic journey and entry to Jerusalem¹¹⁸ – were no less a part of his teaching than was his verbal ministry, his miracles¹¹⁹ no less than his spoken biblical expositions: they were in fact one way in which he expounded Scripture.

In the beginning was the school.¹²⁰ One of the more significant advances in New Testament research over the past four decades has been the recognition that the transmission of Jesus' teaching had its tap-root not in a free-flowing uncontrolled proclamation, as some classical form criticism and other kerygmatic theologies supposed, but in his training of selected disciples to formulate and transmit his message to unreached towns and to clusters of sedentary followers.¹²¹

The Gospel traditions were formulated in episodic summaries, in part by Jesus himself for use by his pupils on their missions and in part by his pupils, the apostles, in the earliest years of the Jerusalem church.¹²² They were reformulated, rearranged and updated by the

¹¹² See above, notes 82, 110, 111. Cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 50), 125–138.

¹¹³ E.g. Mt 24 parr.

¹¹⁴ E.g. the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5–7).

¹¹⁵ See below, Chapter II, 29–37.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Mt 4:13–16.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Mt 26:55, 61 parr.; Jn 18:20; 2:19–22. See below, Chapter II, 35f.; Chapter III, 44–49.

¹¹⁸ Mt 21:1–17 T + Q + John. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 347f.; idem (note 49), 325f., W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, London 1957, 115ff. = GT: 107–110.

¹¹⁹ E.g. Lk 7:16; Jn 6:14.

¹²⁰ K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, Lund ²1969, 34, speaks of 'an unbroken line from the School of Jesus . . . [to the] School of John to the . . . School of Matthew . . .' But strictly speaking there was only one school, the school of Jesus. Cf. Farmer (note 39), 184: 'the Jesus school.' See below, Chapter II, 29ff.

¹²¹ See Riesner, 'Preacher' (note 83), 193–196; Ellis (note 97), 307 = idem, *Prophecy* (note 50), 245; above, note 83.

¹²² See above, note 121. Cf. Gerhardsson, *Memory* (note 83), 208–261; idem, *Tradition* (note 83), 20–57; Ellis (note 49), 330–333; idem (note 2), 352–356.

apostles and their coworkers and, in time, were composed into Gospels by the Evangelists for reading respectively in the congregations of the four apostolic missions¹²³ – Jacobean (Matthew), Petrine (Mark), Pauline (Luke) and Johannine, and eventually in the church as a whole. Within this framework the four canonical Gospels offer the most reliable basis for a credible reconstruction of the historical Jesus.

¹²³ Cf. H. J. Schulz, *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien*, Freiburg ²1995; Ellis (note 2), 251f. See below, 235–241.

CHAPTER TWO

JESUS' USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT AND THE GENESIS OF NEW TESTAMENT THEOLOGY¹

The importance of the Old Testament in early Christian thought will depend on its significance (1) in the word and works of Jesus and (2) in the composition of the four Gospels and (3) of other early Christian literature, which for all practical purposes means our New Testament. It would be enhanced if one could identify (4) certain dominical teachings from the Old Testament that were taken up in Acts and in the letters of the apostolic missions.

EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY VIEWS OF JESUS

At mid-century three axioms current in much of New Testament criticism ruled out an important role for the Old Testament in Jesus' teaching and, consequently, in the theology of earliest Christianity. They were (1) the perception of Jesus as an apocalyptic preacher, (2) the interpretation of New Testament theology in terms of contemporary pagan religions and of a Judaism conceptually separated from its Old Testament roots and (3) a form criticism of the Gospels that, under these influences, regarded their biblical citations, dialogues and controversies as secondary creations of the postresurrec-

¹ The present chapter has its ultimate background in doctoral research at Edinburgh, Tübingen and Göttingen, at a time when the Dead Sea Scrolls were beginning to be published. My study under Matthew Black (my doctoral supervisor), Otto Michel and Joachim Jeremias placed me, in the categories of that period, among the 'rabinists' rather than the 'hellenists,' and a visit in 1954 to Qumran and to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem, where the analysis of the Scrolls was proceeding, left a deep impression of the significance of the discoveries for the beginnings of Christianity. The *peshet* commentaries, 4QFlorilegium, 4QTestimonia and other midrashim from Qumran combined with my dissertation topic, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, to raise doubts about the secondary role given Jesus' use of the Old Testament by the then-dominant reconstruction of his ministry and by what is now called the classical form criticism. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991 (1957). In 'A Note on Pauline Hermeneutics' (*NTS* 2 [1955-56], 127-133) I argued that the Apostle's *peshet*-type moulding of certain Old Testament quotations had affinities with the methods and with the eschatological perspective found at Qumran.

tion church. 'The apocalyptic Jesus' of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer was the prevailing view on the Continent² although it was challenged in England by the realized eschatology of C. H. Dodd.³ The apocalyptic view of Jesus allowed little place for his role as a teacher, especially as an interpreter of Old Testament texts. It was supplemented in Germany by earlier anti-Semitic attitudes that sought to distance Jesus from Judaism altogether⁴ and by quasi-Marcionite attitudes that regarded the Old Testament as redundant and unhealthy for a contemporary expression of the Christian faith.

A Marcionite approach is most clearly seen in the writings of Adolf Harnack:

[T]he rejection of the Old Testament in the second century was a mistake . . . ; to maintain it in the sixteenth century was a fate from which the Reformation was not yet able to escape; but still to preserve it . . . as a canonical document . . . is the consequence of a religious and ecclesiastical crippling . . . [The Old Testament] will be everywhere esteemed and treasured in its distinctiveness and its significance (the prophets) only when the canonical authority to which it is not entitled is withdrawn from it. . . . [The Gospel] requires no attestation by external authorities and proofs from prophecy.⁵

Members of the history-of-religions school, with which Harnack had his differences, reflected a similar disregard for the Old Testament in their attempt to explain Christianity in terms of contemporary Jewish and pagan culture and religions.⁶ Otto Pfleiderer, who is

² J. Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, Decatur GA 1985 (1892); A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, New York 1985 (1906), esp. 330–403 = GT: 1966, 382–450, 620–630.

³ C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, London ⁸1942 (1935), 34–56. Dodd's view, with a few modifications but with the same exegetical weaknesses, was revived by G. B. Caird and his pupil, N. T. Wright. Cf. G. B. Caird with L. D. Hurst, *New Testament Theology*, Oxford 1994, 260–271; N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, London 1997, 340–346, 362.

⁴ Culminating in writings during the Nazi period (1933–45) of those among 'the German Christians,' e.g. E. Hirsch and W. Grundmann. Cf. J. Forstman, *Christian Faith in Dark Times*, Louisville, KY 1993; R. P. Ericksen, *Theologians under Hitler*, New Haven, CT 1985; W. Niemöller, *Die evangelische Kirche im dritten Reich*, Bielefeld 1956, 99–103.

⁵ A. v. Harnack, *Marcion. The Gospel of the Alien God*, Durham NC 1990 (²1924), 134, 138 = GT: 217, 223f.

⁶ Of course, not everyone related to the school was concerned with this question. For a brief biographical sketch of its members cf. G. Lüdemann and M. Schröder, *Die Religionsgeschichtliche Schule in Göttingen*, Göttingen 1987, which identifies the core members as W. Bousset, A. Eichhorn, H. Gunkel, E. Troeltsch, J. Weiss and W. Wrede (15). For an overview of their interpretation of Paul's

regarded as the father of the history-of-religions theology,⁷ treated Christian origins more as an increasing deliverance from the Old Testament than as a fulfilment of it.⁸ William Wrede thought that 'Paul signifies a very wide [theological] distance from Jesus' and that 'Judaism, not the Old Testament, is the basis of Christianity in the history of religion.'⁹ While Wilhelm Bousset recognized the importance of biblical exegesis in the Judaism of Christ's day,¹⁰ he interpreted the origin and development of New Testament theology as a radical departure from the Old Testament and from contemporary Jewish thought.¹¹ Rudolf Bultmann, a convinced adherent of Weiss' 'apocalyptic Jesus'¹² and heir of the history-of-religions school,¹³ rejected a salvation-history interpretation that understood the New Testament in terms of the fulfilment of Old Testament promises¹⁴ and, with his existentialist hermeneutic, he gave at most a very limited affirmation of the value of the Old Testament:

thought cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul and his Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids 1979, 27ff.; for a critique cf. M. Hengel, *The Son of God*, London 1976, 21–56 = GT: 35–89; J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion*, Grand Rapids 1947 (1921); H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, London 1913.

⁷ Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: The History of the Investigation of its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 207 = GT: 262.

⁸ Cf. O. Pfleiderer, *Christian Origins*, London 1906, 107: '[T]he germ of the new religion was present in the attitude of Jesus, but enveloped in the traditional forms of his nation and his day; the release of the germ and the realization of its independence was a development which remained for the apostolic congregation.'

⁹ W. Wrede, 'The Task and Method of "New Testament Theology,"' *The Nature of New Testament Theology*, ed. R. Morgan, London 1973, 108, 114.

¹⁰ W. Bousset–H. Gressmann, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Tübingen 1966, 142–171; W. Bousset, *Jüdisch-Christlicher Schulbetrieb in Alexandria und Rom*, Hildesheim 1975 (1915), 8–154 (Philo).

¹¹ W. Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, Göttingen 1965 (1921), 101, 190–193 = ET: 149, 253–256. Cf. M. Murrmann-Kahl, *Die Entzauberte Heilsgeschichte*, Gütersloh 1992, 365–378.

¹² Bultmann counted Weiss' book (note 2) among a dozen that most influenced his life and thought (*The Christian Century* 79 [1962], 1483).

¹³ At Marburg Bultmann studied under J. Weiss and W. Heitmüller and later wrote the foreword to the reprint of Bousset's *Kurios Christos* (note 11). His affinity with the history-of-religions approach is evident in his interpretation of Paul and John in the categories of the mystery religions and Gnosticism (e.g. R. Bultmann, *The Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., London 1955, I, 292–306; II, 6). Cf. W. Schmithals, *An Introduction to the Theology of Rudolf Bultmann*, London 1968, 4.

¹⁴ Cf. his critique of O. Cullmann's *Christ and Time* (London 1953) and of L. Goppelt's *TYPOS. The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New* (Grand Rapids 1982) in, e.g. R. Bultmann, 'Heilsgeschichte und Geschichte' (1948); 'Ursprung und Sinn der Typologie als Hermeneutischer Methode' (1950), *Exegetica*, Tübingen 1967, 356–380. But see E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 63, 141–157.

... to the Christian faith the Old Testament is not in the true sense God's Word. So far as the church proclaims the Old Testament as God's Word, it just finds in it again what is already known from the revelation in Jesus Christ.¹⁵

From this perspective Bultmann contended that isolated (apocalyptic) proclamations of Jesus were only gradually developed by the postresurrection church into biblically supported teachings and arguments, which were then put into the mouth of Jesus.¹⁶

In my view Bultmann read the development precisely backwards. The sayings of Jesus originally belonged to a context, often an expository (midrashic) context, and separate or clustered sayings and stories (parables) and quotations without a context were often disassembled midrash and represented secondary and tertiary stages in the history of the Gospel tradition.¹⁷ The Dead Sea Scrolls have helped us to see that Jesus' teachings, like those of other Jewish religious leaders of the time, had largely to do with instructions and controversies about the interpretation of Scripture, and they cannot be reduced to apocalyptic proclamations. Indeed, in the light of the Scrolls, which of course were discovered only after Bultmann was over 60 years of age, nothing is so foreign to the historical situation as the picture of Jesus wandering around Galilee uttering apothegms about wisdom and about the end of the world.¹⁸ Even John the Baptist exhibits in the Gospels some traits of a teacher – gathering pupils (μαθηταί)¹⁹ and informing them about their duties and about his own role and that of the Coming One.²⁰ In some respects Jesus is set in

¹⁵ R. Bultmann, 'The Significance of the Old Testament for the Christian Faith,' *The Old Testament and Christian Faith*, ed. B. W. Anderson, New York 1963, 8–35, 32.

¹⁶ R. Bultmann, *The History of the Gospel Tradition*, Oxford 1963, 26f., 47, 54, passim = GT⁵: 25f., 48f., 56f., passim.

¹⁷ Cf. Ellis (note 14), 100f.; idem, *Documents* (note 20), 336n; N. T. Wright, *The New Testament and the People of God*, London 1992, 432f.

¹⁸ Jesus doubtless made apocalyptic proclamations (e.g. Lk 10:18; 19:41–44), some of which have lost their original context (e.g. Lk 13:34f. par), but they are a small element of the Gospel tradition. Against G. Theissen's (*Sociology of Early Palestinian Christianity*, Philadelphia 1978, 8–23) thesis that Jesus and his followers were 'wandering charismatics,' R. Riesner (*Jesus als Lehrer*, Tübingen ³1988, 420) rightly remarks that here Theissen 'remains entirely in the grip of the classical form criticism' of the 1920s.

¹⁹ Mt 9:14 par; Lk 3:10–14, Jn 1:21–28.

²⁰ Mt 3:11f. Q; 11:2–19 Q; Jn 1:29–34. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 324 = idem, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 346f.

contrast to the Baptist,²¹ and he is certainly not analogous to Jesus ben Ananiah, the incessant oracle of woe against Jerusalem.²² Because the Jesus of the Gospels was so distant from Weiss' 'apocalyptic Jesus,' Bultmann was obliged, given his presuppositions, to assign the bulk of the Gospel tradition to the creative activity of the postresurrection Christian congregations. While he did recognize that 'characteristics of a rabbi' were present in Jesus' ministry, 'unless the tradition has radically distorted the picture,' he did not connect this to a view of Jesus as a teacher of Scripture.²³

The views of Weiss and Dodd found a corrective in W. G. Kümmel's arguments that Jesus presented the kingdom of God as both a 'present and future' reality,²⁴ a view that gained further support in subsequent investigations.²⁵ Furthermore, Jesus presented his message concerning the kingdom of God, and specifically his apocalyptic discourse, as an exposition of Scripture, as Lars Hartman rightly saw.²⁶ He is represented in the Gospels occasionally as a *προφήτης*²⁷ but ordinarily and in all strata as *ῥαββί* = רבי or its Greek equivalent *διδάσκαλος*,²⁸ and his close adherents are known as *μαθηταί*, i.e. pupils.²⁹ The term *rabbi* does not, of course, indicate

²¹ Mt 11:16–19 Q. Also, unlike the Baptist, Jesus taught in synagogues, which means *ipso facto* that he expounded Scripture. Cf. Mt 4:23 par; 9:35; 12:9–14 par; 13:54 par; Mk 1:21 par; Lk 13:10; Jn 6:59; 18:20.

²² Josephus, *War* 6, 300–309.

²³ R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, London ²1935 (1926), 57–61, 61.

²⁴ W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, London ³1957 ('1945); idem, 'Futurische und präsentische Eschatologie im ältesten Urchristentum,' *NTS* 5 (1958–59), 113–126 = ET: *JR* 43 (1963), 303–314. Cf. Weiss (note 2); Dodd (note 3).

²⁵ Cf. e.g. B. Chilton, ed., *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, Philadelphia 1984; W. Willis, ed., *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, Peabody MA 1987, and the literature cited; O. Cullmann, *Salvation in History*, London 1967, 172f., 193–209, 230–236 = GT: 152f., 173–188, 208–214; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ¹1996, 141, 239ff.; H. Hübner, *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 3 vols., Göttingen 1995, I, 186ff.; J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology I*, London 1971, 103–108; G. E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future*, Grand Rapids 1974, 105–304; H. Merkel, 'Die Gottesherrschaft in der Verkündigung Jesu,' *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult*, edd. M. Hengel und A. M. Schwemer, Tübingen 1991, 135–150.

²⁶ L. Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, Lund 1966, 245–248. Cf. Mt 24:4–31; 21:33–46; 22:23–33, 41–45, and parallels.

²⁷ Mt 13:57 par; 14:5; 16:14 par; 21:11; Mk 6:15 par; Lk 7:16, 39; 13:33; 24:19.

²⁸ Cf. K. H. Rengstorff, 'διδάσκαλος,' *TDNT* 2 (1964/1935), 153–157, cf. 139–144; E. Lohse, 'ῥαββί,' *TDNT* 6 (1968), 964f. The equivalence of the terms is probably evidenced by a pre-AD 70 inscription; cf. H. Shanks, 'Is the Title Rabbi Anachronistic in the Gospels?' *JQR* 53 (1963), 343ff. On the problem cf. C. Hezser, *The Social Structure of the Rabbinic Movement in Roman Palestine*, Tübingen 1997, 111–142.

²⁹ Cf. B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, Grand Rapids ²1998, 330: '[T]he Apostles' preaching had an essential complement in their teaching. . . . They . . . bore

an official or ordained status as it apparently did in (later) rabbinic circles. But, as Eduard Lohse rightly observed, 'when Jesus is called παῖς by his disciples and others, this shows that he conducted himself like the Jewish [Scripture scholars]' (γραμματεῖς), whose role was to give authoritative interpretations of Scripture.³⁰ However, apparently influenced by existential theology and the classical form criticism, Lohse understood Jesus' word with ἐξουσία to exclude the task of having to establish his teachings from Scripture.³¹ But that is precisely the question, and in the context of first-century Judaism Lohse appears to fall into a false dichotomy. No one in the early church manifested more ἐξουσία than the Apostle Paul, and he is at his liveliest when expounding Scripture (Gal 3; 4; Rom 1-4; 9-11; I Cor 1-4; 10). Jesus also is said to teach 'with authority' precisely when he was giving biblical expositions, that is, in the synagogue.³²

NEW DIRECTIONS IN FORM CRITICISM

Classical form criticism became increasingly dominant in the mid-twentieth century but it experienced, in the words of Hans Conzelmann, a 'certain stagnation'³³ and also failed to gain full acceptance either on the Continent³⁴ or in Anglo-American circles, where Jesus' role as teacher continued to be emphasized.³⁵ Two developments in

witness to the word and works of their Teacher in a way which recalled – at least formally – the witness borne by other Jewish disciples to the words and actions of their teachers.' K. H. Rengstorff ('μαθητής,' *TDNT* 4 [1967/1942], 455) mistakenly made the tasks mutually exclusive: The disciples' role is a 'witness to Jesus and not the reception and transmission of His own proclamation.'

³⁰ Cf. E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh 1973-87, II, 322-325.

³¹ Lohse (note 28), 964f.: '[Jesus'] teaching did not contain the explication and development of traditional material which had to be proved by Scriptural exegesis' (965).

³² Mk 1:21f. par.

³³ H. Conzelmann in *VF* 7 (1956-57), 152; cf. idem, *Jesus*, Philadelphia 1973, 9ff. = *GT: RGG*³, III, 621.

³⁴ E.g. the criticisms of E. Fascher, *Die formgeschichtliche Methode*, Giessen 1924, 206ff., and P. Fiebig, *Der Erzählungsstil der Evangelien im Lichte des rabbinischen Erzählungsstils untersucht*, Leipzig 1925, viif., 1f., passim. They are discussed and supported by J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Assen 1954, 177f.

³⁵ Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity*, London 1971, 53-79, from lectures given in 1954; E. J. Goodspeed, *A Life of Jesus*, New York 1950, 76-133; T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Cambridge 1951 (1935); idem, *The Sayings of Jesus*, London 1950 (1937), 11-15; W. Manson, *Jesus the Messiah*, London 1952, 51-76; R. P. Meye, *Jesus and the Twelve*, Grand Rapids 1968, 30-87, 192-209; H. E. W. Turner, *Jesus Master and Lord*, London 1957, 129-155.

the 1960s served to undermine the assumptions on which the form criticism of the 1920s had been built and pointed the way to a redefinition of the discipline. The first addressed questions about the nature of the transmission of religious traditions in first-century Judaism, and the second discovered analogies between forms or patterns of Old Testament exposition attributed to Jesus and those in contemporary Jewish writings.

Harald Riesenfeld³⁶ and more elaborately his pupil, Birger Gerhardsson,³⁷ challenged the earlier assumption that the Gospel traditions were transmitted like folklore in which various jackleg preachers or an amorphous 'community' created and/or radically reshaped traditions about Jesus' words and deeds. They drew an analogy with the transmission of rabbinic tradition from master to pupil and argued that the Evangelists 'did not take their traditions from [the contexts of preaching and debates]. They worked on a basis of a fixed distinct tradition from, and about, Jesus – a tradition which was partly memorized and partly written down . . . , but invariably isolated from the teaching of other doctrinal authorities.'³⁸ In a word, for the earlier axiom, 'Am Anfang war die Predigt,'³⁹ they substituted another: 'In the beginning was the school.' While the rabbinic analogy would need to be qualified,⁴⁰ their work represented a solid advance in our understanding of the formation and transmission of the Gospel traditions.⁴¹

³⁶ In a paper delivered at the Oxford Congress on 'The Four Gospels in 1957' (= *Studia Evangelica*, TU 73 [1959], 43–65). It was thought significant enough to be given an independent publication in the same year: H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition and Its Beginnings*, London 1957.

³⁷ B. Gerhardsson (note 29), esp. 324–325; idem, *Tradition and Transmission in Early Christianity*, Lund 1964, Grand Rapids 1998, written in response to a critique of his book by, among others, M. Smith ('A Comparison of Early Christian and Early Rabbinic Tradition,' *JBL* 82 [1963], 169–176). Further, cf. B. Gerhardsson, *Die Anfänge der Evangelien-Tradition*, Wuppertal 1977 = ET: Philadelphia 1979; idem, *The Gospel Tradition*, Lund 1986; idem, ' . . . Narrative Meshalim in the Synoptic Gospels,' in Wansbrough (note 20), 266–309.

³⁸ Gerhardsson (note 29), 335.

³⁹ Fascher (note 34), 54, with reference to M. Dibelius, *Botschaft und Geschichte*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1953, I, 221–247, 242: 'Im Anfang war die Predigt . . . ;' cf. idem, *From Tradition to Gospel*, New York 1965 (1933), 10–15 = GT: 9–14. See above, Chapter I, 12–16.

⁴⁰ It did not consider sufficiently the prophetic ἐξουσία, not unlike that seen at Qumran, which characterized the ministries of Jesus and of his apostles. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 42–45; R. Riesner (note 18), 276–298, 297f.

⁴¹ In spite of criticisms, e.g. M. Smith (note 37); G. Widengren, 'Tradition and Literature in Early Judaism and in the Early Church,' *Numen* 10 (1963), 42–83. More appreciatively, W. D. Davies, 'Reflections on a Scandinavian Approach to

Rainer Riesner furthered the theses that the transmission of Jesus' words and deeds began in his preresurrection mission and that it was a 'consciously preserved teaching tradition' of a 'prophetic teacher,' thereby qualifying (as I had done) Gerhardsson's rabbinic analogy.⁴² Indeed, the prophetic gifts of the apostolic traditioners best explain how and why 'they not only preserved but also altered and elaborated the tradition of Jesus' teachings as well as the description of events.'⁴³ That is, they treated the holy word of Jesus as they did the holy word of the Old Testament, whose texts they likewise could handle with considerable freedom. In the latter case they had a precedent in the practice of Jesus and of the Qumran writers, who also used 'charismatic exegesis'⁴⁴ or what D. I. Brewer called an 'inspirational approach.'⁴⁵

The classical form analysis had long been censured for its neglect of Jewish backgrounds in its classification of the 'forms' and in its rationale for their organization and collection in the Gospels.⁴⁶ A second development in the sixties furthered that criticism. It was the discovery in the Gospels of patterns of Old Testament exposition that were similar to those found in contemporary Jewish writings

"The Gospel Tradition," *Neotestamentica et Patristica. FS O. Cullmann*, ed. W. C. van Unnik, Leiden 1962, 14–34; W. Wiefel, 'Vätersprüche und Herrenworte,' *NT* 11 (1969), 105–120. Building on Gerhardsson's approach is S. Byrskog, *Jesus the Only Teacher*, Stockholm 1994.

⁴² Riesner (note 18), 276–298, 502, 297f.; cf. E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978, 243f.; H. Schürmann, 'Die vorösterlichen Anfänge der Logientradition,' *Der historische Jesus und der kerygmatische Christus*, ed. H. Ristow, Berlin ²1961, 342–370; revised in idem, *Jesus*, Paderborn 1993, 85–104, 380–397.

⁴³ Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 42.

⁴⁴ Cf. Ellis (note 14), 116–121; idem (note 42), 172; idem, 'Note' (note 1), 130ff.

⁴⁵ D. I. Brewer, *Techniques and Assumptions in Jewish Exegesis Before 70 CE*, Tübingen 1992, 187–198 (Qumran). He speaks only of copying 'with some inspired creativity' (198) and does not sufficiently recognize that *ad hoc* variants created by recognizing prophets were also regarded as valid forms of Scripture (216).

⁴⁶ Cf. P. Fiebig (note 33), v–viii, 2, who argued that its classification, taken from Greek literature, was not cognate with the Jewish background of the Gospels. So also Doeve (note 33), 23f., 177–205, 178. During post-doctoral studies at Marburg in 1961–62 I and another American student were kindly invited by Professor Bultmann, then retired, for afternoon coffee. I asked why he interpreted the Gospels from Greek rather than from Jewish backgrounds. He replied that the Gospels were a part of Greek literature. Of course, I was posing a false dichotomy which, since the work of M. Hengel and others, we now can better see. Nonetheless, the Gospels reflect a Greek world that had been mediated through Judaism. To that extent the criticisms of Fiebig and Doeve still apply. Cf. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., London 1974; idem, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century After Christ*, London 1989. See above, note 1.

and that were designated by the (later) rabbis as proem (פרוּם) and *yelammedenu rabbenu* midrashim.⁴⁷ Peder Borgen found a proem-like pattern in Jn 6:31–58 and in Rom 4:1–22; Gal 3:6–29 similar to both Philonic exegetical pieces and to Palestinian rabbinic expositions.⁴⁸ J. W. Bowker identified both proem and *yelammedenu* forms in Acts,⁴⁹ and I pointed to similar and different patterns in Mt 21:33–44 par⁵⁰ and in other New Testament books.⁵¹

In the past two decades further research brought a recognition that the Gospel forms were reduced to writing much earlier than was previously supposed.⁵² However, the advances most significant for the present topic are (1) a careful and schooled transmission of Jesus' teachings by apostolic tradents and (2) the presence in those teachings of biblical expositions that provided the foundation for sev-

⁴⁷ As they appear in later rabbinic material, a variety of patterns have been conveniently defined and distinguished by W. G. Braude, *Pesikta Rabbati*, 2 vols., New Haven CT 1968, I, 3ff. The *Pesikta* was a (later) collection of biblical expositions (midrashim) composed by Palestinian rabbis of the third and fourth centuries AD for use at special sabbaths and feasts. J. Mann (*The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue*, 2 vols., Cincinnati 1940, 1966, I, 105) identified one pre-AD 70 sermon as a proem form. Further, cf. S. Maybaum, *Die Entwicklung der jüdischen Predigt*, Berlin 1901, 9–23.

⁴⁸ P. Borgen, *Bread From Heaven*, Leiden 1965, 47–58: 'Since [this homiletic pattern] cannot have been brought into Palestinian midrash from Philo, John or Paul, the only reasonable deduction is that [it] was commonly used . . . both within and outside Palestine in the first century of the Christian era' (54). Cf. Doeve (note 34), 35–51. Jn 6, i.e. 6:22–58, better fits a *yelammedenu* pattern, however; cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 175f.

⁴⁹ J. W. Bowker, 'Speeches in Acts: A Study in Proem and Yelammedenu Form,' *NTS* 14 (1967–68), 96–111; cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Midrashic Features in the Speeches of Acts,' *Melanges Bibliques. FS B. Rigaux*, ed. A. Descamps, Gembloux 1970, 303–312 = idem (note 42), 198–212.

⁵⁰ E. E. Ellis, 'Midrash, Targum and New Testament Quotations,' *Neotestamentica et Semitica. FS M. Black*, edd. E. E. Ellis and M. Wilcox, Edinburgh 1969, 67 = Ellis (note 42), 194f.

⁵¹ I.e. I Cor 1–4 and Jude in a paper given at the Society of Biblical Literature in New York, 1970, and published in revised form in E. E. Ellis, 'Exegetical Patterns in 1 Corinthians and Romans,' *Grace Upon Grace. FS L. Kuypers*, ed. J. I. Cook, Grand Rapids 1975, 137–142 = Ellis (note 42), 213–220; cf. 221–236 (Jude).

⁵² E.g. the warning, 'Let the reader [in worship] understand' (Mt 24:15 par), was probably placed in the Synoptic tradition at the time when the Emperor Caligula attempted to place his statue (under the name of Zeus) in the temple (c. AD 40). Cf. Philo, *Embassy to Gaius*, 188–337; G. Theissen, *The Gospels in Context*, Minneapolis 1991, 159–165 = GT: 169–176; E. E. Ellis, 'The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel,' *The Four Gospels 1992. FS F. Neirynck*, 3 vols., ed. F. Van Segbroeck, Leuven 1992, 801–815 = GT: in *Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* ed. B. Mayer, Regensburg 1992, 195–212; idem, *Documents* (note 20), 357–376; idem, 'New Directions in Form Criticism,' *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie. FS H. Conzelmann*, ed. G. Strecker, Tübingen 1975, 304–307 = idem (note 42), 242–247.

eral theological motifs in the early church. If these studies are well-founded, one may conclude that New Testament theology began with the biblical expositions of Jesus.

JESUS AS A SCRIPTURE TEACHER

It is widely accepted that Jesus made messianic claims, if only implicitly, and that he expressed his understanding, at least in part, in terms of Old Testament texts.⁵³ Given the conception of the Gospel tradition argued above, he also accepted messianic⁵⁴ and probably divine⁵⁵ titles although he redefined them in terms of the humble King,⁵⁶ the Suffering Servant and the mysterious figure of the Son of Man.⁵⁷ He was apparently the first to combine the conceptions of the royal Messiah and the Servant⁵⁸ and was certainly the first to interpret them in terms of the Danielic Son of Man, probably to be understood (also) as a divine figure.⁵⁹ But Jesus' use of the Old Testament went further than that.

Jesus used exegetical formulas and methods⁶⁰ found in the Old

⁵³ Cf. I. H. Marshall, *Jesus the Saviour*, Leicester 1990, 134–149, passim; idem, *The Origins of New Testament Christology*, Leicester 1976, 43–62; O. Betz, *Jesus der Messias Israels*, Tübingen 1987, 140–168; C. C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, Tübingen 1986, 168–243; S. Kim, *'The "Son of Man"' as the Son of God*, Tübingen 1983. Otherwise: D. R. A. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition*, Minneapolis 1990, 257–282; H. E. Tödt, *The Son of Man in the Synoptic Tradition*, London 1965, 222–283, 293–296.

⁵⁴ E.g. Mt 20:30 T; cf. Mt 22:41–45 T + Q, in a midrash; Mt 21:9, 15 (Son of David); Mt 16:16 T + Q (Christ); Lk 4:18–21, in a midrash (Servant); Mt 4:3 Q; 26:63 T (+ Q) (Son of God). T = a text found in the three Synoptic Gospels; + Q = a (second) tradition evidenced by agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark.

⁵⁵ E.g. Mt 8:29 T; 27:54 par; Mk 3:11; Lk 4:41 (Son of God); Mk 1:24 par (Holy One of God); cf. W. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, Cambridge 1971: '... it is not the human Jesus as such [that the demons know], but the supernatural Jesus equipped with the πνεῦμα – the Son of God' (25 = GT: 24). It is possible that these are demonic acclamations of Jesus' messianic authority rather than of his diety. But see below, Chapter III, note 26, p. 43.

⁵⁶ E.g. Mt 21:7ff. T + Q. Cf. Kümmel, *Promise* (note 24), 115 = GT: 107f.

⁵⁷ E.g. Mt 9:6 T + Q; 26:64 T (+ Q).

⁵⁸ Cf. Mt 16:13–23 T + Q; W. Grimm, *Die Verkündigung Jesu und Deuterojesaja*, Frankfurt ²1981, 201–204, cf. 231–277 (Mk 10:45); C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, London ³1953, 102–110, passim.

⁵⁹ Mt 26:63f. T + Q. See above, Chapter One, 16n. Cf. Kim (note 53), 16–22, 87–94. Otherwise: M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, London 1967, 11–31, 126, 141. The issue rests in part on whether the Son of Man in Dan 7:13 is to be understood in terms of Ezek 1:26ff. and Gen 1:26a (Kim), of Ps 8:4–8 and Gen 1:26b (Hooker) or both (Ellis). See below, 43f.

⁶⁰ οὗτός ἐστιν, used as an explanatory formula (e.g. Jn 6:50; cf. Mt 7:12; 11:14;

Testament, at Qumran and in rabbinic writings, and he employed at least four of Hillel's seven hermeneutical rules.⁶¹ More significantly, in his Entry into Jerusalem⁶² and at the Last Supper⁶³ he acted out his understanding of the messianic meaning of Scripture, and he also instructed his followers and refuted his opponents by means of biblical commentary, as may be seen in the transmitted summaries in the Gospels. These expositions (midrashim) were utilized in the congregations of four apostolic missions – Jacobean, Petrine, Pauline, Johannine – and some were included in the four Gospels, each of which was initially produced for churches of those respective missions. In addition, expositions in the triple tradition episodes (T), i.e. those found in all three Synoptic Gospels, sometimes reveal in the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark a (second) underlying tradition (Q) if one grants the independence of Matthew and Luke. Some midrashim lie at the bedrock of the Synoptic tradition; others are found only in one⁶⁴ or two Gospels.⁶⁵ All of them reflect some reworking and updating, but if the research cited above is valid, they were transmitted in an intentional manner by trained traditioners and Evangelists, and they retain the substance of the pre-resurrection teaching of Jesus.

The Gospel traditioners organized, and thus explained, events in Jesus' ministry in terms of Old Testament texts, and they did so in patterns similar to proem and *yelammedenu* midrash.⁶⁶ They presented Jesus' use of Scripture sometimes as allusions, in which the biblical

13:18–23 parr; 26:26 parr); ἁλλά, δέ, used to qualify an interpretation (e.g. Mt 19:8); ἀκούειν, μανθάνειν, used with reference to understanding Scripture (e.g. Mt 9:13; 21:33; 24:32). Cf. Ellis (note 14), 82–87.

⁶¹ E.g. inference from minor and major (1); from similar words and phrases (2); a principle inferred from the teaching of one verse (3); context (7). Cf. Ellis (note 14), 87–91, 130ff.

⁶² Mt 21:1–17 T + Q + John. Cf. Kümmel, *Promise* (note 24), 109–121 = GT: 102–114: 'Jesus by a conscious act [Mt 21:7 parr] associates himself with the prediction [of Zech 9:9] and shows thereby that he wishes to be a Messiah without pomp, but yet just in this lowly action the eschatological consummation is already revealing itself' (117 = GT: 110).

⁶³ Mt 26:26–29 parr.

⁶⁴ E.g. Lk 10:25–37; Jn 6:22–58. Cf. Ellis (note 42), 158, 249ff.; idem, *Documents* (note 20), 175f.; Borgen (note 48), 59–98.

⁶⁵ Mt 11:7–15, 16–19 Q; 15:1–9, 10–20 par. Cf. Ellis (note 14), 97f., 136.

⁶⁶ I.e. the Magi and Flight (Mt 2:1–23); the Baptist and Jesus (Mt 3:1–17, T + Q); Transfiguration (Mt 17:1–13 T + Q); Shekel (Mt 17:24–27); Entry and Cleansing (Mt 21:1–17 T + Q). Cf. Ellis, 'Narratives' (note 20), 317, 322, 324f. = idem, *Documents* (note 20), 345–348.

reference can only be inferred,⁶⁷ sometimes as separate and isolated quotations⁶⁸ and sometimes as explicit expositions, i.e. midrashim. The Old Testament allusions and the separate and single quotations in the Gospels appear at times to represent detached portions of original, summarized dominical expositions, expositions that largely follow *yelammedenu* text + commentary patterns and that concern conduct (*halakah*),⁶⁹ messianic expectations⁷⁰ and last things.⁷¹ All of them were doubtless important for theological issues in the apostolic church. But did the dominical expositions and other biblical allusions and quotations of Jesus become a source and foundation for these theological motifs in the rest of the New Testament literature?

EXPOSITIONS OF JESUS USED BY PAUL

Halakoth

Among his biblical debates Jesus gives an exposition, summarized in Mt 12:1–8 (T + Q), that relativizes sabbath observance. He places it among the law's commands (*halakoth*) concerning rituals and regulations that could be disregarded for due cause even in the Old Covenant (4f.), how much more in the messianic age in which such regulations are superceded (6, 8). As Jesus elsewhere condemns the churchmen-opponents for 'ignoring the weightier matters of the law,'⁷² for tithing produce and neglecting 'justice and the love of God,'⁷³ so here he subordinates the sabbath observance to his disciples' hunger and does so by applying an Old Testament text (7; Hos 6:6).

When the Apostle Paul puts sabbath observances among the *adiaphora*⁷⁴ and deplores a focus on such practices by Gentile believers,⁷⁵

⁶⁷ E.g. Mt 11:5 Q; 20:28 = Mk 10:45. For a table of Old Testament quotations attributed to Jesus by the Synoptic Gospels cf. R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, London 1971, 259–263.

⁶⁸ E.g. Mt 21:13; Mk 9:48. See Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 179n, 350f.

⁶⁹ Mt 12:1–8 T + Q (sabbath); 15:1–9, 10–20 par (washing); 19:3–9, 10–12 par (divorce). Cf. Ellis (note 14), 97f., 136.

⁷⁰ Mt 11:7–15, 16–19 Q (Jesus and the Baptist); 21:33–46 T + Q (wicked tenants); Jn 6:22–58 (true manna). Cf. Ellis (note 14), 97f.; Borgen (note 48), 59–98.

⁷¹ Mt 22:23–33 T + Q (resurrection); 24:1–36 parr (this age and its end). Cf. Ellis (note 42), 154; idem (note 14), 103; Hartman (note 26).

⁷² Mt 23:34.

⁷³ Lk 11:42.

⁷⁴ Rom 14:5f.

⁷⁵ Gal 4:9f.; Col 2:16f.

he expresses a similar distinction between the 'parking meter' regulations of the Old Testament law whose enforcement time is past⁷⁶ and the moral aspects of the law that abide.⁷⁷ It is reasonable to suppose that the Apostle derives such distinctions from Jesus, who had established them by biblical expositions like Mt 12:1–8 and 15:1–20.⁷⁸ But since Paul does not cite a dominical precedent, are there clearer examples?

Jesus expands such an exposition, summarized in Mt 15:1–20 (= Mk 7:1–23), in which he subordinates ceremonial washing to the Fifth Commandment to 'honor your father and your mother,' (4) to conclude the (extended) midrash with a vice list that is a contemporized rendering of almost all of the Second Table of the Decalogue (19). Paul cites a traditioned vice list that also consists of the Fifth to the Nine Commandments,⁷⁹ and I Peter and James and Revelation include (portions of) vice lists that have a considerable overlap with the list at Mt 15:19.⁸⁰ These writings evidence a closer relationship to the Jesus-tradition than to the vice lists found in Judaism, which were also partly based upon the Decalogue.⁸¹ It is reasonable to suppose that they (or their traditions) depend in part on the biblical expositions of Jesus but, again, they do not cite a dominical precedent.

Jesus' teaching on divorce at Mt 19:3–9 = Mk 10:2–9 provides a clear example of a midrash whose extracted teaching was transmitted separately to Christ's followers. It is so utilized by Jesus or by his apostolic traditioners in Mt 5:31f.⁸² and probably in Lk 16:18 and,

⁷⁶ Gal 3:23ff.; 5:6. Cf. Lk 6:4 D.

⁷⁷ Gal 5:14f.; Rom 13:8ff.

⁷⁸ Cf. Mt 15:3 ('You transgress the commandment of God for the sake of your tradition') with I Cor 7:19 ('Circumcision is nothing and uncircumcision is nothing, but rather keeping the commandments of God').

⁷⁹ I Tim 1:9f. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles,' *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis*, ed. C. A. Evans, Atlanta 1987, 242f.; idem, *Documents* (note 20), 412.

⁸⁰ E.g. Rom 13:13f.; I Cor 6:9f.; Gal 5:19ff.; Col 3:5–9; I Pet 2:1; 4:3f., 15; Jas 1:21; Rev 9:20f.; 21:8; 22:15. The Pauline lists have about a 50% overlap with Mt 15:19, the others less. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 61–64, passim.

⁸¹ E.g. Philo, *De sacr. Abel.* 22, 27; Test. XII: Asher 2:5–10; 1QS 10:21ff. Cf. S. Wibbing, *Die Tugend- und Lasterkataloge im Neuen Testament*, Berlin 1959.

⁸² G. Strecker, *The Sermon on the Mount*, Nashville 1988, 11ff. = GT: 9ff., thinks that the Sermon was an intact composition when Matthew took it over. Similar: H. D. Betz, 'The Sermon on the Mount in Matthew's Interpretation,' *The Future of Early Christianity. FS H. Koester*, ed. B. A. Pearson, Minneapolis 1991, 259–263. This may be right (but see U. Luz, *Matthew 1–7*, Minneapolis 1989, 213f.; R. A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount*, Waco TX 1982, 33–36). Nevertheless, the Sermon in Mt 5–7 represents a redactional production in which certain of the Lord's teachings have been brought together from distinct contexts, some of them from expository contexts like Mt 19:3–9.

more clearly, by Paul. In I Cor 7:10f. Paul cites a Jesus-tradition: 'The Lord [commands that] a wife not separate (χωρισθῆναι) from her husband but, if she separates, let her remain unmarried . . .; and that a husband not leave his wife.' He is closer to the exposition in Mt 19 = Mk 10 than to the other Synoptic divorce logion (Lk 16:18), both in the use of the term, 'separate,' and in the construction of an independent clause followed by a conditional clause (ὅν, ἐάν).⁸³ He is closer to Mark (10:12) in highlighting the wife and closer to Matthew (19:3-9, 10ff.) in associating this instruction with the alternative of remaining unmarried and with a teaching on the corporate body formed in the sexual union (I Cor 7:7; 6:16), a matter to which we shall return. It is probable that in his teaching against divorce and remarriage Paul depends on the exposition of Jesus that was preserved in summary form in Mt 19 and Mk 10.

Last Things

Jesus' eschatological discourse, summarized in Mt 24:4-31 (T + Q), represents a reworked commentary on a number of Old Testament texts, especially from Daniel.⁸⁴ It may be alluded to in a number of 'antichrist' references in the Johannine letters⁸⁵ and, if the following parables in Mt 25 were an application of or associated with the commentary, it may lie behind a number of references in I-II Thessalonians. However, whether the discourse is used by Paul in the Thessalonian letters is a matter of some debate.⁸⁶

Paul's use of Jesus-traditions here and elsewhere will depend largely on one's assumptions about the transmission of the Gospel traditions. It will appear improbable to those who, following the classical form criticism, think that isolated sayings of Jesus floated about

⁸³ Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 70-77, 73f.; D. Wenham, 'Paul's Use of the Jesus Tradition,' *The Jesus Tradition Outside the Gospels* (GP 5), ed. D. Wenham, Sheffield UK 1985, 7-15.

⁸⁴ I.e. Dan (2:31-45); 7:7-27; 8:9-26; 9:24-27; 11:21-12:4, 13. Cf. Hartman (note 26), 235, 145-174. He identifies the original midrash with Mk 13:5b-8, 12-16, 19-22, 24-27.

⁸⁵ I Jn 2:18; 4:1-3; II Jn 7.

⁸⁶ Supporting such usage are, e.g. D. Wenham, *The Rediscovery of Jesus' Eschatological Discourse* (GP 4), Sheffield UK 1984, 176-180, 295f.; Hartman (note 26), 178-205. Otherwise: C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in 1 Thessalonians?' *The Thessalonian Correspondence*, ed. R. F. Collins, Leuven 1990, 160-182 (with the possible exception of I Thess 5:2); F. Neirynck, 'Paul and the Sayings of Jesus,' *L'Apôtre Paul*, ed. A. Vanhoye, Leuven 1986, 265-321, 278-281, 308-311, who gives a good survey of the research.

like leaves on a lake to be picked up here and there in passing. It will appear quite differently to those who are convinced that Jesus' teachings were carefully formulated in episodic units and designed from the beginning for an ordered transmission by apostolic leaders with whom, as Acts and the Pauline letters attest, Paul was in a close relationship.⁸⁷ Paul's knowledge of Jesus' midrash on Daniel and of other dominical parables attached to it (or to similar expositions) is also supported by the probability that by AD 40 this midrash was being read in congregations of the Jacobean and Petrine missions.⁸⁸

In such a situation the cluster of parallels between the (Matthean form of the) Synoptic apocalypse and I Thess 5 is hardly coincidental: the Lord's coming 'as a thief,' 'when they are saying peace and safety,' and bringing destruction;⁸⁹ the call to watchfulness; the warning against sleeping and drunkenness.⁹⁰ That the Thessalonians have a knowledge of Jesus-tradition(s) is strengthened when I Thess 5:2b-11 is introduced as something that they know (οἶδατε ὅτι, 5:2), that is, that had been traditioned to them earlier. Even if only the thief image is accepted as a reference to a Jesus-tradition (cf. Tuckett), it points not to an isolated saying but to a larger complex of dominical teaching on the subject, known to Paul and traditioned to the Thessalonians. This follows from Paul's practice of transmitting a variety of traditions, including Jesus-traditions,⁹¹ in teaching his congregations, both the Thessalonians⁹² and others.⁹³ Probably I Thess 5:2b-11b is a pastiche summarizing traditions that Paul and Silas had taught them earlier, traditions that included expositions of Jesus known to us from the Synoptic Gospels.⁹⁴

⁸⁷ Gal 1:18; 2:1, 9; I Cor 3:22-4:1; 9:5; 11:16, 23ff.; 15:3-7; cf. 14:33ff. and I Tim 2:9-3:1a with I Pet 3:1-7; Rom 15:25; Acts 11:29f.; 12:25; 15:6-35; 21:17f.; II Pet 3:15f. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 21-36.

⁸⁸ See above, note 52.

⁸⁹ I Thess 5:2b, 3; cf. Mt 24:43f. Q; 24:38-42 Q.

⁹⁰ I Thess 5:5ff.; cf. Mt 24:45-51 Q.

⁹¹ I Cor 11:23ff.; 7:10f.; 9:14; cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 69-94, 73f.

⁹² E.g. I Thess 2:13; 4:1 (παραλαμβάνειν). On the technical connotation of the term cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 53-59. Cf. II Thess 2:15; 3:6.

⁹³ E.g. I Cor 11:2; 15:1; Gal 1:9; Phil 4:9.

⁹⁴ Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 113; T. Holtz, *Der erste Brief an die Thessalonicher*, Neukirchen 1986, 209f.; J. Plevnik, 'I Thess 5:1-11: Its Authenticity, Intention and Message,' *Bib* 60 (1979), 81-97.

The Eschatological Temple

Jesus identifies himself with the eschatological temple in two images, the cornerstone of the temple and the temple itself.⁹⁵ In a midrash on Isa 5, summarized at Mt 21:33–46 (T + Q), he implicitly speaks of himself as the rejected temple-stone in a citation of Ps 118:22, a Psalm that celebrated the (anticipated) enthronement of the Messiah of the house of David.⁹⁶

The [temple] stone that the builders rejected
This one has become the head of the corner.

Jesus uses the passage as an 'eschatological threat',⁹⁷ but after his resurrection his apostles employ the same motif and text for Jesus' resurrection-victory. According to Acts 4:11 Peter does so in a sermon, and both he and Paul do so in a more elaborate manner in expositions in their letters. I Pet 2:4–10, which is probably a preformed midrash,⁹⁸ combines quotations of Ps 118:17, Isa 8:14 and 28:16; Rom 9:33 merges the two Isaiah texts, also within a commentary context.⁹⁹ As C. H. Dodd demonstrated, I Peter did not follow Rom 9:33 nor vice versa, but both Paul and Peter, writing independently, 'made use of a twofold *testimonium* already current in the precanonical tradition. . . .'¹⁰⁰ They used this messianic 'stone' *testimonium* because Jesus had already done so in a biblical exposition known to them. That is, in his citation of Ps 118 Jesus identified himself as the cornerstone in God's eschatological temple. After his resurrection the apostolic tradition expanded this temple-stone motif with an understanding of Jesus as a corporate being including his followers. In this way it not only added the Isaiah (8:14; 28:16) temple-texts but also identified believers as stones in God's temple¹⁰¹ and regarded them *pars pro toto* as that temple itself.¹⁰² But where did the

⁹⁵ See below, Chapters Three and Four. Cf. Mk 14:58 par; Jn 2:18–22. The temple in Jerusalem is only the type of the one with which Jesus identifies himself, as Mt 23:38 Q; 24:2 T + Q show.

⁹⁶ E.g. S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 vols., Oxford 1962, 75ff.; A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1955, 114–118.

⁹⁷ Cf. J. Jeremias, 'λίθος,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 271–277, 275.

⁹⁸ Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 136ff.; W. S. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in First Peter*, Tübingen 1989, 130–138.

⁹⁹ Ellis (note 42), 218f.

¹⁰⁰ Dodd (note 58), 43. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 60f., 137f., 312.

¹⁰¹ Eph 2:19–22; I Pet 2:4–10.

¹⁰² E.g. I Cor 3:16; 6:19. Cf. C. F. D. Moule, *The Origin of Christology*, Cambridge 1977, 89–96. See below, Chapter Thirteen, 165–178.

tradition derive the conception of Christ as a corporate personality who included his followers within his own being?

The Corporate Christ

Jesus gave two interpretations of the Old Testament in which he underscored its teaching on corporate personality.¹⁰³ He cited Gen 2:24, 'the two shall be one flesh,' in his exposition against divorce.¹⁰⁴ In a Passover homily at the Last Supper¹⁰⁵ he interpreted the elements of bread and wine not only of his individual broken body and shed blood but also of his identification with his disciples and of their corporate participation in his sacrifice.

Paul refers to these dominical traditions at I Cor 7:10f. and at I Cor 11:23ff. with full awareness of their corporate implications.¹⁰⁶ Concerning the Last Supper he writes, 'He eats and drinks judgment on himself if he does not discern the body' (11:29), i.e. the corporate body of the Lord manifested in the congregation. This understanding of the matter is supported by Paul's earlier comment, which also may be a traditioned saying: 'The bread that we break, is it not a participation in the body of Christ' (10:16)?

At Eph 5:22-6:9 the Apostle employs a traditional household code to express the same conception, drawing an analogy between believers as members of Christ's body (5:30) and the marriage union in which 'the two shall be one flesh' (Gen 2:24). He cites Gen 2:24 also in I Cor 6:18, similarly drawing an analogy between an illicit sexual union and the believer's union with Christ:

Do you not know that (οὐκ οἶδατε ὅτι)
Your bodies are members of Christ?

I Cor 6:15

The formula, 'Do you not know,' indicates that this was a teaching that had earlier been traditioned to the Corinthians, a teaching not unlike that found in the household code at Eph 5:30ff. It suggests

¹⁰³ Further, cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 73f.

¹⁰⁴ I.e. Mt 19:3-9 = Mk 10:2-9. See above, 32f.

¹⁰⁵ Mt 26:26 parr. With Jeremias, I take the Supper to have been a Passover meal. It was probably observed in accordance with Essene practices. Cf. Ellis (note 25), 249f.; J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, New York ³1966, 15-88 = GT: 9-82.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Lanham MD ⁴1998, 8-14, 42ff.; idem (note 14), 110ff.; S. W. Son, below p. 48n.

that the basis for the Corinthians' knowledge of their corporate unity with Christ's body was not only the tradition of Jesus' Supper teaching but also an eschatological exposition of Gen 2:24 that Paul had taught them, an exposition not unrelated to Jesus' own midrash on the passage in Mt 19:3-9.

CONCLUSION

M. Dibelius concluded that 'collections which contained exclusively sayings of Jesus . . . were given to the missionaries orally or fixed in writing.'¹⁰⁷ In his view they are presupposed by Paul's response in I Cor 7:25 and, one may add, they are also implied in the Corinthians' inquiry, which apparently was not just for Paul's views but also for those of the Lord. However, they were not, *pace* Dibelius, limited to dominical 'sayings,' in the sense that the term was used in the classical form criticism, for they included at least a Last Supper narrative (I Cor 11:23) and, if the above arguments hold, certain Old Testament expositions of Jesus.

The use of the Old Testament in creating the (complementary) theologies of the New Testament church was not limited to traditioned teachings of Jesus. It included other biblical expositions, some of them preformed pieces, that are found especially in Romans, I Corinthians, Galatians, Hebrews, I-II Peter and Jude.¹⁰⁸ However, if its use in Jesus' ministry was considered important enough to be retained by the Evangelists, often still in an original expository framework, and if such expositions also exercised an influence upon the apostolic writers, one cannot doubt the significance of the Scriptures for the church as a whole, a church that was seeking to understand theologically both the events she had experienced and the Lord whom she worshipped and served.

¹⁰⁷ Dibelius (note 39), 242 = GT: 243.

¹⁰⁸ I identify them in detail elsewhere. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 20), 69-138; idem (note 14), 91-101, 130-138; idem (note 42), 213-253.

CHAPTER THREE

DEITY-CHRISTOLOGY IN MK 14:58

The dispute between Jesus and Jewish theologians and 'churchmen' that finally led to his condemnation to death was a controversy over the interpretation of Scripture. It appears not only in those debates formulated in the Gospels as *yelammadenu* midrashim¹ but also in the reaction to Jesus' forgiveness of sin² and to his affirmations at his trial, where charges of blasphemy were leveled at him (Mk 2:7; 14:64).

JESUS' FORGIVENESS OF SIN

By forgiving sins in his own name, i.e. as the Son of Man,³ Jesus implicitly claims a prerogative of God⁴ and thus evokes an inter-

¹ E.g. Mt 12:1-8 (Q) = Mk 2:23-28 = Lk 6:1-5 (sabbath); Mt 15:1-9 = Mk 7:1-13 (ritual defilement); Mt 19:3-8 = Mk 10:2-12 (divorce); Lk 10:25-37 (love commandment); Mt 21:15f. (Davidic Messiah); Mt 22:23-33 (Q) = Mk 12:18-27 = Lk 20:27-40 (resurrection). Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991 (Grand Rapids ²1992), 96-100. Q designates (1) a *Vorlage* common to Matthew and Luke where they diverge from Mark and (2) the Gospel that best retains that *Vorlage*.

² Mt 9:1-8 = Mk 2:1-12 = Lk 5:17-26 (Q). This triple-tradition episode, found also in a Q *Vorlage*, is at the bedrock of the Gospel tradition. The classical form criticism sometimes regarded Mk 2:5b-10 as secondary (cf. R. Bultmann, *The History of the Synoptic Tradition*, Oxford 1963 [¹1921], 14f.). It is in general not a reliable guide to questions of historicity, however, because of *inter alia* its mistaken perception of a 'folk tradition' transmission of the Gospel traditions. See B. Gerhardsson, *The Gospel Tradition*, Lund 1986; R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer*, Tübingen ³1988, 1-95, 408-502; E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 19-27.

³ For a discussion of the issues surrounding this much discussed term cf. S. Kim, *The 'Son of Man' as the Son of God*, Tübingen 1983, 89-93, passim; C. C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, Tübingen 1984, 174-250.

⁴ So, Kim (note 3); E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ⁷1996, 103f.; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to Mark*, London 1952, 195; H. Alford, *The Greek Testament*, 4 vols., London ³1856, I, 80. Otherwise: C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, London 1990, 301; F. Bovon, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas I*, Neukirchen 1989, 248; C. S. Mann, *Mark*, Garden City NY 1986, 224. Pace Jeremias (*New Testament Theology I*, London 1971, 262) and C. Colpe (*TDNT* 8 [1972], 443f.) it is not an assertion that as 'God in heaven' so also Jesus, as a man, 'has authority on earth to forgive sins' (Q). This is similar to the misunderstanding of the crowds in Mt 9:8.

change with the scribes,⁵ i.e. the Scripture scholars. Both Jesus and they presuppose the biblical teaching that only God can forgive sins.⁶ On this theological question both have a common basis of appeal in the received canonical Scriptures⁷ and, against the approach of the 'history of religions' school, any anecdotal parallels in Jewish apocryphal⁸ or in pagan literature are of doubtful relevance for the question in Mark.

By his act of forgiveness Jesus gives a clue to his mysterious self-designation, 'the Son of Man,'⁹ a clue that the scribes grasp better than others. By healing the paralytic, again in his own name, he reinforces the verbal act since both Jesus and the Scripture scholars also presuppose the biblical understanding that relates death to sin and healing to God's power¹⁰ and, even more, that attributes to God

⁵ The form is similar to the *yelammedenu* midrash: The scribes' implied biblical question (Mk 2:7; cf. Exod 34:7; II Sam 12:13; Isa 43:25; 55:7) is countered by Jesus with another biblical question (2:8f.; cf. Deut 32:39; Ps 103:3f.) and answered by the healing (2:10ff.). Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels*, *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 320 = idem (note 2), 342. Cf. Lk 7:47ff.; Jn 5:14.

⁶ E.g. Exod 34:7; Isa 43:25; 44:22.

⁷ On the biblical canon of first-century Judaism and its role in the debates between Jesus and other Jewish theologians cf. Ellis (note 1), 1–50, 97f., 125–128.

⁸ I know of no clear instances. If in the *Prayer of Nabonidus* (4QOrNab; c. 25 BC) the seer offers 'forgiveness' (Vermes; otherwise: Burrows), it is no more than an assurance that his prayer 'to the Most High God' has been answered and, *pace* Vermes, represents no exception to the Scripture scholars' dictum that only God can forgive sin. Cf. G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, London ²1977, 67f.; M. Burrows, *More Light on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, London 1958, 400. The same is true of the angelic agent in *Joseph and Aseneth* (c. AD 100?) 14–15. In the *Testament of Abraham* (c. AD 100) 14:3–8 Abel at God's appointment offers a provisional human forgiveness that will later be ratified or vetoed by God, who may be identified with Christ (13:4–7) by the (Jewish) Christian author or reviser. Cf. M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham*, Cambridge 1892, 29; J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., 1985, I, 875 (E. P. Sanders).

⁹ The term and the saying are to be taken as dominical unless they can be shown to be secondary (Kümmel). The term is probably (quasi-)titular, and it is specific not generic (cf. Hare). It has an unclear connotation that is publicly unveiled at Mk 14:62 (cf. Schmithals). Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Dreissig Jahre Jesusforschung (1950–1980)*, Bonn 1985, 28f. = *TR* 31 (1966), 42f.; D. R. A. Hare, *The Son of Man Tradition*, Minneapolis 1990, 246–249; W. Schmithals, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, 2 vols., Gütersloh 1979, I, 152f.; II, 662f. However, Schmithals mistakenly supposes that 'the Son of Man' was identified with Jesus only by the postresurrection church and that in Mk 14:62 it is Mark's creation.

¹⁰ E.g. Exod 15:26; Ps 103:3f. Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel*, 4 vols. in 2, Copenhagen ⁴1959, I–II, 153–156; E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas, Leicester UK ²1982, 697–701. Cf. D. L. Bock, 'The Son of Man in Luke 5:24,' *BBR* 1 (1991), 121.

alone the authority to give life or (truly) to take it away.¹¹ Jesus is hardly implying merely a human messianic claim, for there is apparently no Jewish tradition that the Messiah or any other creaturely being has the right to forgive sins on his own authority. Furthermore, Jesus does not speak as an agent, priestly or prophetic or angelic, assuring the man of God's forgiveness, nor does he offer the provisional pardon of a human court to be later ratified by God.¹² He makes a flat affirmation of what both he and the theologians know to be a prerogative of God and proceeds to ratify it by his own word of life to the paralytic.

The Scripture scholars, who here make their first appearance in the Gospel, are not represented as malicious or prejudiced against Jesus. They make a reasoned judgment based upon their biblical understanding and, if Jesus is only a man, they are fully justified. They suspect Jesus of blasphemy here for the same implicit reasons as those spoken explicitly in the only other Gospel passage (before the trial) where the charge of blasphemy appears, John 10:33.¹³

We stone you . . . for blasphemy
That is, because you being a man
Make yourself to be God.

The unspoken charge in the Synoptics reflects the sharp, though hostile, insight of the theologians into the implication of Jesus' word and deed that is contrasted, in Matthew (12:8), with the superficial apprehension of the crowds. It prepares the way for the second and climatic accusation of blasphemy made against Jesus at his trial.¹⁴

¹¹ Gen 2:7; I Sam 25:29; Job 34:14f.; Ps 73:17, 26; 90:3; cf. Mt 10:28 Q; Ellis (note 10), 698.

¹² See above, note 8. Cf. (H. L. Strack and) P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 4 vols., München 1922–28, I, 495: '[There is] no passage known to us in which the Messiah by virtue of his own authority pronounces to men the forgiveness of sins.'

¹³ Cf. Jn 5:18; 19:7; II Macc 9:12, 28; H. W. Beyer, 'βλασφημία,' *TDNT* I, 621ff. The Gospel of John is a better index to the force of the charge against Jesus than is a modern speculative selection from a broad range of connotations that the term had in the first century.

¹⁴ The episodes of the healing (Mk 2:1–12 + Q) and of the trial (esp. Mk 14:61–64 + Q) agree also in their definition of Jesus' person and role in terms of the Son of Man. They reflect in part a Q *Vorlage*, both in common omissions and in common verbal agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark (cf. I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, Exeter 1978, 850; somewhat differently, D. R. Catchpole, *The Trial of Jesus*, Leiden 1971, 220). This raises a certain probability, if not of a proto-Gospel, at least of common pre-Synoptic episodes that the Jacobean (*cum* Matthew)

THE TRIAL OF JESUS

In the Synoptic accounts of the trial the question of the high priest and the response of Jesus have set the usual christological issues:

'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed One?'

And Jesus said

'I am. And you will see the Son of Man

Seated at the right hand of Power (Ps 110:1)

And coming with the clouds of heaven' (Dan 7:13)

Mk 14:61c-62

The high priest asks about Jesus' identity with the anticipated royal Messiah, with an allusion to Ps 2:7 and/or to II Sam 7:13f.¹⁵ Jesus answers affirmatively but proceeds to define the titles, 'Messiah' and 'Son of God',¹⁶ in terms of 'the Son of Man'.¹⁷ He incurs the charge of blasphemy not by affirming that he was the Messiah, which in Judaism was not a blasphemous claim,¹⁸ but by his further definition of his messiahship in terms of a combination of Dan 7:13f. (the Son of Man) and of Ps 110:1 (David's Lord seated at God's right hand).¹⁹

mission, based on Jerusalem, and the Petrine (*cum* Mark) mission, based for a time in Caesarea, included in their congregational readings. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel,' *The Four Gospels* 1992. FS F. Neirynck, 3 vols., edd. F. Van Segbroeck *et al.*, Leuven 1992, II, 801-815 = GT: *Die Texte der Höhle 7: Christen und Christliches in Qumran?* ed. B. Mayer, Regensburg 1992, 195-212; idem (note 5), 330f.; idem (note 2), 352ff.; 357-376.

¹⁵ This may be a summary designed at the formulation of the Gospel episode, but more likely the high priest employed these texts since he was hardly unaware that both II Sam 7 and Ps 2 were used as messianic texts in contemporary Judaism, e.g. 4QFlor 1:1f., 10f., 18f. Cf. G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, Sheffield UK 1985, 138f., 147, 209, *passim*; O. Betz, *Jesus Der Messias Israels*, Tübingen 1987, 154-168, 327f.

¹⁶ 'Son of the Blessed One' is a euphemism substituted by Mark to preserve his different use of the term 'Son of God' and perhaps to avoid the use of God's name. Cf. G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, Edinburgh 1902, 200ff.; Billerbeck (note 12), II, 51. Cf. 'Son of God' (Mk 1:1) with 'Yahweh' (Mk 1:2). See below, note 54.

¹⁷ So, J. R. Donahue, *Are You the Christ?* Missoula MT 1972, 95, 183f.; otherwise: Hare (note 9), 208, who argues (213-282) that the eschatological usage of 'Son of Man' is the creation of the early church. But that Jesus used this term of himself both for his earthly ministry and for his future parousia see I. H. Marshall, 'Son of Man' in Green (note 20), 775-781; idem, 'The Synoptic Son of Man Sayings in Recent Discussion,' *NTS* 12 (1965-66), 335-351 = idem, *Jesus the Saviour*, London 1990, 73-99.

¹⁸ Rightly, Catchpole (note 14), 132, against J. Blinzler, *The Trial of Jesus*, Cork 1959, 106-110.

¹⁹ Catchpole (note 14), 100f., may be right in identifying a non-Markan source in the parallel Lk 22:67f., 70, but that does not exclude the probability that Luke has taken into account Jesus' definition of 'Messiah,' both in Mark and in a

If the trial proceedings are fairly summarized by the Synoptic tradition,²⁰ they reflect a biblical dispute over the nature of Jesus' messianic claims. Indeed, for a *theological* verdict against Jesus they had to address questions of Scriptural interpretation. They represent the climax for which Mark (or rather the underlying Synoptic tradition) has earlier prepared his readers:

The 'owner of the vineyard' sent his 'beloved Son.'
 'David calls [Messiah] Lord; in what way then is he David's son?'
 'Then they shall see the Son of Man coming
 In the clouds with great power and glory.'²¹

The charge of blasphemy at the trial is fully understandable if the Sanhedrin understood Jesus to interpret Dan 7:9–14 via Ezek 1:26ff. as a theophany applied to himself and thus to assert his divine status and role.²² The earlier implicit charge (Mk 2) may explain also Jesus' (occasional) command for silence about his person and work.²³

Q tradition, to sum up the high priest's question and Jesus' answer in terms of the Son of God (22:70) as deity. Cf. J. Marcus, 'Mk 14:61: "Are You the Messiah-Son-of-God?"' *NT* 31 (1989), 125–141; Ellis (note 4), 263f.; J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean*, Missoula 1979, 106f.; cf. Grand Rapids ²1997. The later rabbis (R. Jose vs. R. Akiba) and modern scholars differ as to whether a man sitting beside God in heaven is a blasphemous idea. Cf. *BT Sanhedrin* 38b; Catchpole (note 14), 140f.

²⁰ For a cogent survey and evaluation cf. B. Corley, 'The Trial of Jesus,' *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels*, edd. J. B. Green *et al.*, Downers Grove IL 1992, 841–854; further, S. S. Smalley, 'Arrest and Trial of Jesus Christ,' *ISBE*² II (1982), 1049–1055. H. Lietzmann ('Der Prozess Jesu' [1931], *Kleine Schriften*, 3 vols., Berlin 1958–62, II, 251–263) rejected the historicity of the trial before the Sanhedrin. But see A. Strobel, *Die Stunde der Wahrheit*, Tübingen 1980, 6–21, *passim*; D. R. Catchpole, 'The Historicity of the Sanhedrin Trial,' *The Trial of Jesus. FS C. F. D. Moule*, ed. E. Bammel, London 1970, 47–65; G. D. Kilpatrick, *The Trial of Jesus*, London 1953, 5–21; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Roman Society and Roman Law in the New Testament*, Oxford 1963, 24–47.

²¹ Cf. Mk 12:6ff. *parr*; 12:35–37 *parr*; 13:24–27 *parr*. In each passage Matthew and Luke have common readings against Mark, showing that they use a (second) non-Markan source.

²² I.e. as the visible manifestation of Yahweh and as the eschatological judge; cf. Joel 3:9–21 (Yahweh, 3:16). See below, note 29. It is true that Messiah was also expected to be Yahweh's agent in judgment (e.g. Isa 11:1–5; 1QSb 5:24f. cf. G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., London 1965, II, 169ff.; H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, Philadelphia 1963, 180ff.), but this only raises in a more acute form the question of the nature of Messiah, who is both David's seed and David's Lord (Mk 12:35ff.; cf. Ps 110:1). The question cannot be limited to the dichotomy, 'Is Messiah Yahweh or Yahweh's (creaturely) agent' (cf. Harvey), but must also be posed more broadly: 'Is the Messiah as revealed in Jesus both Yahweh and Yahweh's agent?' Still highly instructive for the issue is A. R. Johnson's *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God*, Cardiff 1961. Cf. A. E. Harvey, 'Christ as Agent,' *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament*, ed. L. D. Hurst, Oxford 1987, 239–250.

²³ E.g. Mk 1:44 + Q; 7:36 (healings); Mk 1:25 *par*; 1:32ff. + Q; 3:11f. *par*; 5:8

If so, the command was evidently given not because his messiahship was in some respects future (cf. Schweitzer)²⁴ or non-political (e.g. Dunn),²⁵ features that are rather innocuous, but because it involved divine prerogatives and a manifestation of deity that Jesus would disclose in his own terms at his trial. The command at the Transfiguration explicitly addresses this aspect of his messiahship. The same is true of the silencing of the demons in the exorcisms, as William Wrede rightly saw:

[T]he demons . . . have this knowledge [about Jesus]; it is that of supernatural beings. And the object of their knowledge is equally supernatural; it is not the human Jesus as such, but the supernatural Jesus equipped with the *pneuma* – the Son of God.²⁶

All of these features, taken together, argue that 'the messianic secret' in the Synoptic tradition, including Mark, is not a secret of some human aspect of Messiah's person but a secret of his 'Son of God' status, a secret of his deity.²⁷

The charge of blasphemy is, then, an important key to understanding both 'the messianic secret' and the meaning of the term, the Son of Man, as Jesus unveils at his trial its earlier enigmatic connotations. It suggests that Dan 7:13f. was affirmed by Jesus and so heard by his accusers to point beyond an 'Adamic' messianic figure, alluding to Ps 8 and Gen 1:26b,²⁸ to a manifestation of Yahweh

parr (exorcisms); Mk 5:43 + Q (raising the dead); Mk 8:30 + Q (confession of messiahship); Mk 9:9 + Q (Transfiguration); cf. Mt 9:30; Mk 8:26. On the nature of the Gospel parallels cf. Ellis (note 5), 313–327 = idem (note 2), 336–349.

²⁴ A. Schweitzer, *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, New York ²1950 (¹1901), 114–136; idem, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, New York 1968 (¹1906), 336–349 = GT: 382–450.

²⁵ J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark,' *TB* 21 (1970), 111f., revised in *The Messianic Secret*, ed. C. M. Tuckett, London 1983, 127f. For the issues and the debate cf. Tuckett's introduction (1–28).

²⁶ Cf. W. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, Cambridge 1971 (1901), 25 = GT: 24. Lk 4:41, understood in terms of Lk 2:11 ('Messiah Yahweh'), is agreeable with this view of the demons' understanding of Jesus' messiahship.

²⁷ Cf. C. F. D. Moule, 'On Defining the Messianic Secret in Mark,' *Jesus und Paulus. FS W. G. Kümmel*, edd. E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer, Göttingen 1975, 3f., 242f.; Kim (note 3), 100f., with idem, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, Tübingen ²1984, 226, 250ff. Somewhat differently, U. Luz, 'Das Geheimnismotiv und die markinische Christologie,' *ZNTW* 56 (1965), 9–30 = ET: in Tuckett (note 25), 75–96: 'The Markan christology is to be understood as an attempt not to remove the θεῖος-άνθρωπ christology and 'epiphany' thinking of the Hellenistic community but to make it understandable from the perspective of the cross' (30). But did Mark's recipients have a θεῖος-άνθρωπ christology? Cf., e.g. C. R. Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic Judaism*, Missoula MT 1977.

²⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978, 167.

in God's throne-room in 'a likeness as the appearance of a man,' alluding to Ezek 1:26ff. and Gen 1:26a.²⁹ On this understanding the charge has a rationale in Jesus' self-identification with the Son of Man in Dan 7. But it probably rested not only on this affirmation but also, and perhaps more significantly, on Jesus' alleged claim to destroy and rebuild the 'temple' 'in three days.'

THE TEMPLE NOT MADE WITH HANDS

The accusation by the trial witnesses is expressed in Mk 14:58 as follows:

We heard him saying
 'I will destroy this temple
 (Made with hands [χειροποιήτος])
 And in three days will build another
 (Not made with hands [ἀχειροποιήτος]).'

The saying appears in Matthew, Mark and John and is probably presupposed by Acts. Yet the accounts vary considerably, suggesting that each is (partially) derived from independent antecedent tradition(s).³⁰ It fits hand-in-glove with other aspects of the trial, as we shall see below, and has good grounds to be placed there historically.³¹

In both Matthew (26:59f.) and Mark (14:57) the accusation is represented as 'false testimony' and is met by Jesus with a noncommittal

²⁹ See above, 29. Cf. Kim (note 27), 239–243; idem (note 3), 2f., 88f.; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, London ²1985, 94–98, 107–111; M. Black, 'The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the "Son of Man,"' *Jews, Greeks and Christians*, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly, Leiden 1976, 56–73, 57f.; W. Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1983, I, 123f.

³⁰ Mt 26:61; cf. 27:40; Mk 14:58; cf. 15:29; Jn 2:19; cf. Acts 6:14; 15:16. On Luke's tendency to omit a topic that he treats elsewhere in his Gospel or in Acts cf. Ellis (note 5), 332f.; idem (note 2), 355. The Synoptic trial narrative, or parts of it, has a Q *Vorlage* that is observable in occasional agreements between Matthew and Luke against Mark in wording, omissions and order. Luke also appears to use yet another special source; cf. J. B. Green, *The Death of Jesus*, Tübingen 1988, 61–66; Catchpole (note 14), 153–220.

³¹ This holds whether or not the saying was combined with another trial-narrative tradition by the Synoptic tradition (or by Mark, as is supposed by D. Lührmann, *Das Markusevangelium*, Tübingen 1987, 249). Otherwise: J. Gniska, 'Der Prozess Jesu nach . . . Markus . . .,' *Der Prozess gegen Jesu*, ed. K. Kertelge, Freiburg 1988, 17f.; R. A. Hoffmann, 'Das Wort Jesu von der Zerstörung und dem Wiederaufbau des Tempels,' *Neutestamentliche Studien. FS G. Heinrici*, ed. A. Deissmann, Leipzig 1914, 130–139. Such questions and their answers largely depend on the form-critical and source-critical assumptions that the investigator brings to the task.

silence. It is understood by the witnesses to refer to the Jerusalem temple-building (ναός); however, Mark and probably Matthew³² sharply qualify that understanding. The passage raises several questions: What was the original form of the temple-saying? In what sense is the testimony about it said to be 'false'? What is the meaning of the terms, 'temple,' 'build' and 'three days?'

The temple in Jerusalem is never, in the Gospels, the object of any threat by Jesus although he calls it 'your house,' referring to the city that has rejected him, and he predicts its destruction by others.³³ And he never expresses any intention of rebuilding the Jerusalem temple. Against a traditional interpretation of this passage, the temple (ναός) here does not allude to Jesus' prediction about the temple-complex (ιερόν) in Mk 13:2, as Eta Linnemann rightly saw, or to any other saying of Jesus about the Jerusalem temple.³⁴ The reference to the temple in Jerusalem is part of the falsity of the witnesses' testimony that Mark counters with his qualifiers, 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands.'³⁵

Almost certainly the phrases, 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands,' are not original to the saying of Jesus or to the accusation:³⁶ (1) They are absent from Mt 26:61, which in this respect

³² The phrase, 'temple of God' (Mt 26:61), in the New Testament elsewhere and in the Apostolic Fathers apparently always refers to the spiritual temple, either to the individual believer's body (cf. II Cor 6:16 with I Cor 6:19), to the corporate body of Christ = the church (e.g. I Cor 3:16; II Cor 6:16; Rev 3:12; cf. I Clem 23:5; Barn 6:11) or to the heavenly temple (e.g. Rev 7:15; 11:1, 19). This is true also of II Thess 2:4 (so, Findlay, Frame; otherwise: Best) and of Rev 11:1 (so, e.g. Sweet, Caird, Charles; otherwise: Müller) although the question is disputed both in later patristic and in modern commentaries (cf. Rigaux, Ladd). Cf. E. Best, *First and Second Epistles to the Thessalonians*, London 1972, 286f.; G. G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians*, Grand Rapids 1982 (1904), 170f.; J. E. Frame, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, Edinburgh 1912, 256f.; B. Rigaux, *Les épîtres aux Thessaloniens*, Gembloux 1956, 660f.; G. B. Caird, *The Revelation of St. John the Divine*, London 1966, 131f.; R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1920, I, 273; G. E. Ladd, *The Revelation of John*, Grand Rapids 1972, 149f.; U. B. Müller, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Gütersloh 1984, 206; J. P. M. Sweet, *Revelation*, London 1979, 183f. The Old Testament tabernacle is referred to as 'the house of God' (Mk 2:26 + Q) and Herod's temple as 'my (= God's) house' that 'you have made a den of robbers' (Mk 11:17 + Q).

³³ Mt 23:37ff. (Q); Mk 13:2 + Q; 13:14 parr.

³⁴ Cf. E. Linnemann, *Studien zur Passionsgeschichte*, Göttingen 1970, 118f., who rejected the historicity of Jesus' saying altogether (116–127), a view she later repudiated.

³⁵ Otherwise: R. H. Gundry, *Mark*, Grand Rapids 1993, 901–904; E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism*, Philadelphia 1985, 61–76, and the literature cited.

³⁶ So, Donahue (note 13), 106; cf. D. Juel, *Messiah and Temple*, Missoula MT 1977, 117–125, 143–157.

is 'more simple and original,'³⁷ from the subsequent accusation at Mk 15:29 and from the Johannine tradition of Jesus' saying, whose form R. Bultmann regarded as 'relatively original.'³⁸ (2) In the context of the trial the phrases make little sense in the mouths of the false witnesses and detract from the force of the accusation.³⁹ They are very likely Mark's editorial to draw out the true meaning of Jesus' saying and to distinguish the true from the false aspects of the accusation.

Stephen is the first in New Testament church to connect 'hand made things' with the Jerusalem temple. In his speech at Acts 7:48 he includes the temple among the 'things made with hands.' But by quoting Isa 66:2, 'my hand made all these things' (Acts 7:50), he expands the reference to designate the whole present creation. Stephen thus provides the exegetical rationale for the use elsewhere in the Hellenist missions, i.e. of Peter and of Paul,⁴⁰ of the idiom, 'made with hands'/'not made with hands,' for the realities of, respectively, the present creation and the resurrection creation, the present age and the eschatological age, the old covenant and the new covenant. With this understanding Paul in II Cor 5:1 can contrast 'the earthly house' (ἡ ἐπίγειος οἰκία) with 'the building from God . . . , the house not made with hands,' that is, the present creation in Adam with the resurrection creation incorporate in the exalted Christ.⁴¹ Or in Ephesians and Colossians he can contrast the old-covenant circumcision 'made with hands' with the circumcision 'not made with hands,' explained as the believer's corporate identification with Christ's death and resurrection.⁴² Similarly, Hebrews (9:11, 24) explains the idiom, 'not made with hands,' as 'not of this creation' and describes the resurrected Christ's exaltation as the entering into the holy places

³⁷ H. A. W. Meyer, *Gospels of Mark and Luke*, New York 1884, 180, 191.

³⁸ Jn 2:19; R. Bultmann, *The Gospel of John*, London 1971, 126 = GT: 89. Cf. P. Borgen, 'John and the Synoptics,' *The Interrelations of the Gospels*, ed. D. L. Dungan, Leuven 1990, 432–436. Ἐγείρειν (Jn 2:19), like οἰκοδομεῖν can mean 'to build' a building. Cf. Callimachus, *Hymn to Apollo* 64; J. Schlosser, 'La parole de Jésus sur la fin du temple,' *NTS* 36 (1990), 401.

³⁹ P. Vielhauer, *Oikodome*, München 1979, 60.

⁴⁰ I.e. Mk 14:58; II Cor 5:1; Eph 2:11; Col 2:11; Heb 9:11, 24. See below, Chapter IV, 58–61.

⁴¹ See below, Chapter XII, 154–157.

⁴² Eph 2:11; Col. 2:11f.; cf. I Pet 2:4–10; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple*, Oxford 1969, 93–139. Ephesians, Colossians and Mark's Gospel were probably composed in the same city, Caesarea in Palestine, at about the same time (AD 55–60). Cf. Ellis (note 14), 811f. = GT: 207ff.; idem (note 2), 266–275, 357–376.

(ἄγιον), that is, the temple 'not made with hands' in heaven.⁴³ In the light of this background the terms, 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands,' have a fairly well-defined usage within the missions of the Christian Hellenists. They refer respectively to the present creation and to the resurrection creation, the latter sometimes expressed in terms of Christ's resurrection and sometimes as his identification or association with the eschatological temple.

The phrase, 'I will build *another* temple' (Mk 14:58), may be the witnesses' misquotation of a saying of Jesus.⁴⁴ According to some Jewish traditions Messiah was to build a new temple;⁴⁵ according to others God was to do so.⁴⁶ In Jesus' saying, however, it is the same temple that is destroyed and rebuilt, as the parallels show:

The one who destroys the temple and rebuilds it in three days (Mk 15:29).

I am able to destroy the temple of God and to build it in three days (Mt 26:61).

Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up (Jn 2:19).

The identification of the temple that is destroyed with the one that is rebuilt excludes another traditional interpretation that identifies the destroyed temple with the Jewish religious system and the rebuilt temple with the church⁴⁷ although this view comes closer to the meaning of Jesus' saying as it is interpreted by Mark.

The clue that is, I believe, decisive for Jesus' meaning is the phrase, 'in three days.' As Donald Juel comments, the phrase 'looks suspiciously like a reference to the resurrection [of Jesus].' Considering

⁴³ Cf. also Philo, *de spec. leg.* I, 66f.

⁴⁴ In this respect Jn 2:19 is more original (see above, note 38), and it involves a subtle distinction between 'this temple' in Jesus' word (2:19, 21) and 'this temple' in the Jews' question (2:20).

⁴⁵ Zech 6:12; cf. Tg Zech 6:12; Tg Isa 53:5. Cf. D. D. Edwards, 'Jesus and the Temple,' Diss. SWBTS, Ft. Worth TX 1992, 204–207, and the literature cited.

⁴⁶ Jub 1:17; 4Qflor 1:6: 'a sanctuary out of man' (מִקְדָּשׁ אָדָם); cf. Martinez; 11Q Temple 29:8ff.; cf. O. Betz, 'Kontakte zwischen Christen und Essener,' in Mayer (note 14), 161; F. G. Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, Leiden 1994, 136. Cf. Exod 15:17. On the first understanding the high priest could bring to Pilate a political charge against Jesus. On the second he might construe the saying either as an appropriation of God's prerogative or as an implicit claim to deity and, along with the 'Son of Man' claim, a basis for the theological charge of blasphemy.

⁴⁷ E.g. A. Vögtle, 'Das markinische Verständnis der Tempelworte,' *Die Mitte des Neuen Testaments. FS E. Schweizer*, ed. U. Luz, Göttingen 1983, 362–378. It has been a continuing view in modern research since it was broached by J. G. Herder, *Von Gottes Sohn*, Riga 1797, 135. But see the devastating criticisms of H. A. W. Meyer, *The Gospel of John*, New York 1884, 113f.

the use of the phrase or of its equivalent earlier in Mark,⁴⁸ one may put it more strongly: 'In three days' points to the resurrection of Jesus. In the light of the use of ἀχειροποιήτος elsewhere in the Hellenist missions to refer to the new creation brought into being by Christ's resurrection, the temple 'made without hands' in Mk 14:58 confirms this understanding of the phrase, 'in three days.'

Mark, then, takes the temple that is destroyed and rebuilt in three days to refer to Jesus' individual body. In this respect he agrees with the interpretation given more explicitly in Jn 2:21 and with the more allusive Matthean reference to Jesus as 'the temple of God.'⁴⁹ He has prepared his readers for this identification by the midrash on the wicked tenants in which Jesus identifies himself with the rejected stone that becomes the cornerstone of the eschatological temple.⁵⁰

Theologically more significant, Mark attributes to Jesus the claim to raise himself from the dead 'in three days,' a claim to deity that could hardly be more strongly expressed. If the high priest also suspected this claim to be implicit in Jesus' temple saying, it is understandable that he would view this saying no less than the 'Son of Man' claim to be sufficient grounds for the charge of blasphemy of which Jesus was found guilty. The deity christology that was implicit in Jesus' forgiveness of sins in his own name (Mk 2) becomes explicit at his trial (Mk 14), both in his identification of himself with the

⁴⁸ Mk 8:31; 9:31; 10:34; Juel (note 32), 118, cf. 143ff. Whether in the mouth and mind of Jesus the phrase meant a literal period of time (cf. Mt 12:40) or only an ultimate eschatological vindication (Lk 13:32) is difficult to decide. Cf. J. Jeremias, 'Die Drei-Tage-Worte der Evangelien,' *Tradition und Glaube. FS K. G. Kuhn*, edd. G. Jeremias et al., Göttingen 1971, 221–229.

⁴⁹ Mt 26:61, probably alluding to Zech 6:12. This was noted already by C. E. Luthardt, *St. John's Gospel*, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1876–78, II, 11: At Jesus' death the Jerusalem temple 'ceases therewith to be the dwelling of God. . . . But Jesus will raise the temple up again: after three days in his resurrection. . . . From that, then, shall the temple of the New Testament church build itself, Zech vi. 12.' See above, note 32.

⁵⁰ Mk 12:10 + Q. This 'temple' is equated by Jesus (Mk 14:58 par.) with his individual body and later, after his resurrection, by his apostles with his corporate body, the church (I Cor 3:16; II Cor 6:16; Eph 2:19–22; cf. Acts 15:16; Heb 3:5f.). The rationale for the expanded reference is provided by the Semitic conception of corporate personality, by Qumran's identification of the eschatological temple with the elect remnant of Israel and, more specifically, by Jesus' 'Last Supper' words and act in which he identifies his followers with his body (Mt 26:26 par.). Cf. A. Cole, *The New Temple*, London 1950, 49–53; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, Cambridge 1965, 139, passim; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, Göttingen 1971, 50–93; H. W. Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia 1964; S. W. Son, 'Corporate Elements in Pauline Anthropology,' Ph.D. Diss. SWBTS, Ft. Worth TX 1999.

Son of Man in Dan 7 and, perhaps more offensively, in his veiled claim to raise himself from the dead.⁵¹ It is consistent with the Apostle Paul's teaching in I Cor 15:20–28 that the Son will put all enemies, including the enemy death, under his feet. The first instance of his conquest of death was his own resurrection 'after three days' (Mk 9:31; 10:34). As to his human nature the Lord Jesus Christ was raised (e.g. Acts 3:15); as to his divine nature he arose (Mk 16:6; cf. Mt 27:63; Lk 24:7, 46) by his own almighty power. Many miss the force of these and other texts because they come to them with an adoptionist dogma already in place.⁵²

JESUS THE MANIFESTATION OF YAHWEH

Mark alludes to Jesus' deity in contexts other than Mk 14:58. In agreement with the pre-Synoptic episode of 'Jesus and the Baptist'⁵³ he opens with a quotation of Isa 40:3 (1:2) and closes with allusions to Ps 2:7 and Isa 42:1 (1:11). Mk 1:2, 11 are probably *testimonia* excerpted from antecedent midrashim in which the christological understanding of these passages has been worked out.⁵⁴ Unlike Matthew and Luke, Mk 1:2 merges Isa 40:3 with an implied reference to God's 'coming to his temple' (Mal 3:1):

Behold I send my messenger before your [i.e. the Son of God's] face
Who will prepare your way
A voice crying in the wilderness
Prepare the way of Yahweh (κυρίου)
Make smooth his paths

⁵¹ As in other matters John (10:18) expresses the claim more explicitly. Cf. also Ignatius, *ad Smyr.* 2:2. On the aorist passive form ἡγέρθην (Mk 14:28; 16:6; Jn 2:22) with a deponent or reflexive force, cf. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in Light of Historical Research*, New York 1914, 334, 817; J. H. Moulton and N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1908–76, I, 163.

⁵² J. C. O'Neill, *Who Did Jesus Think He Was?* Leiden 1995, 82: 'Those who seize upon a rather wooden misreading of the passages [e.g. Acts 2:36; Rom 1:3f.; 15:6; I Cor 15:20–28; Eph 1:17] . . . do so because they are held captive by the assumption that there is an obvious development from unitarianism to trinitarianism [in earliest Christian thought]; . . .'

⁵³ Mt 3:1–17 = Mk 1:2–11 = Lk 3:2b–22; cf. Jn 1:19–28. Like the trial narrative this episode has (also) a Q *Vorlage*, which is evident from the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark. Whether Mark draws from a Q tradition or from a separate tradition or (possibly) from a proto-Gospel is an open question. Cf. Ellis (note 5), 324; idem (note 2), 346f.

⁵⁴ Cf. Ellis (note 1), 100f.; idem (note 28), 150f., 161f.

Mark's allusion to Yahweh's coming to his temple refers, I suggest, not to the Herodian temple but to his incarnate dwelling in Jesus the Son of Man and prepares the discerning reader for the temple typology that will be elaborated later in the Gospel. Mark is fully aware that the Hebrew texts refer to the coming of Yahweh as Israel's redeemer (Isa 40:3) and judge (Mal 3:1),⁵⁵ and in that awareness he expounds them to make an identification *cum* distinction of Yahweh with Jesus Christ the Son of God (Mk 1:1).⁵⁶

The Evangelist also uses the miracles of Jesus to present him as the One who by his sovereign word controls nature (4:35–41; 6:45–52), confers life upon the dead (5:21–42), creates matter (6:32–44; 8:1–10) and decrees death (11:12ff., 20–25). While unlike the Gospel of John, he does not call them 'signs,' it is clear that, no less than John, he regards them as pointers to Jesus as One who by his own authority manifests powers exclusive to God.⁵⁷

Of course, Mark's presentation of Jesus as God is veiled, like that of Jesus himself, and it represents only one aspect of the many-splendoured reality of the unique person of our Lord. It is in accord with the christology of other New Testament writers⁵⁸ and with the imprecise monotheism of the Old Testament in which God is viewed as a unity in plurality.⁵⁹ However, it will pose a problem for those who

⁵⁵ It may be that the coming of Yahweh was part of the messianic hope also in wider circles of first-century Judaism. Cf. Ps. Sol 17:36 (32): Messiah Yahweh (χριστὸς κύριος). Further, cf. Test. XII Levi 8:11; Judah 22:2; Naphtali 8:3; Asher 7:3, unless these are Christian works or interpolations. Cf. B. B. Warfield, 'The Divine Messiah in the Old Testament,' *Christology and Criticism*, New York 1929, 3–49 = *PTR* 14 (1916), 379–416.

⁵⁶ Note Mark's (or his tradition's) alteration of 'my' in Mal 3:1 LXX to 'your:' 'Behold, I [Yahweh] send my messenger before *your* face.'

⁵⁷ In the Feedings Jesus 'looked up to heaven,' 'blessed' and 'gave thanks' (6:41; 8:6f.), showing his relationship to his Father. He does not petition. Mk 10:18 is an *ad hominem* response and tells us nothing about Jesus' morals or about the nature of his person. Similarly, the credo that 'Yahweh is one' (יהוה אחד, 12:29 = Deut 6:4) is no more unitary than that the married couple is 'one' (Gen 2:24).

⁵⁸ E.g. Paul. Cf. M. J. Harris, *Jesus as God. The New Testament Use of Theos in Reference to Jesus*, Grand Rapids 1992, 143–185 (on Rom 9:5; Tit 2:13); C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1979, 464–470 (on Rom 9:5); Best (note 32), 272 (on II Thess 1:12: perhaps 'our God and Lord Jesus Christ' if the letter is non-Pauline and late); D. Guthrie, *The Pastoral Epistles*, Leicester ²1990, 212, and G. D. Fee, *1 and 2 Timothy, Titus*, San Francisco 1984, 149 (on the cited tradition at Tit 2:13). Perhaps more decisive than these debated texts is the use of *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology* (by D. B. Capes, Tübingen 1992).

⁵⁹ Cf. Ellis (note 1), 112–116; Johnson (note 22), 13–37; G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, 2 vols., New York 1971 (1930), I, 360f.: 'Monotheism also, the cornerstone of

define monotheism in (later) unitarian categories and then read this definition into pre-Christian Judaism.⁶⁰

The complexity of the doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ in the New Testament is evident from three centuries of patristic exegesis and debate⁶¹ and, to me personally, from my own Arianism during university days. However, in the revival of unitarian sentiment in some contemporary theology, not unlike that in the eighteenth century,⁶² it may be useful to recall a few of the biblical texts and the exposition that led the church away from such conclusions and to the affirmation of the trinitarian God: Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

Judaism, remains, as in the Bible, the religious doctrine that there is one God and no other. . . . There is no assertion or implication of the unity of God in the metaphysical sense such as Philo means. . . .’ The conception of Yahweh as a corporate personality (Johnson) is based on assumptions different from those in the problem of *Two Powers in Heaven* (by A. F. Segal, Leiden 1977) discussed by the rabbis in the early centuries of the Christian era.

⁶⁰ A number of recent writers appear to fall into this anachronism. Cf. J. D. G. Dunn, *The Partings of the Ways*, London 1991, 244–247, passim; L. W. Hurtado, *One God, One Lord*, Philadelphia 1988, 82, passim; A. E. Harvey, *Jesus and the Constraints of History*, Philadelphia 1982, 154–173. Cf. P. A. Rainbow, ‘Jewish Monotheism as the Matrix of New Testament Christology,’ *NT* 33 (1991), 78–91, 88.

⁶¹ For perceptive discussions of the issues cf. B. Lonergan, *The Way to Nicea*, Philadelphia 1976; G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, London ¹1977; C. Stead, *Divine Substance*, Oxford 1977. For a reasoned rejection of the christology of the patristic creeds cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *God as Spirit*, Oxford 1977.

⁶² There is also a unitarianism that argues that God is ‘Jesus only.’ Cf. G. A. Boyd, *Oneness Pentecostals and the Trinity*, Grand Rapids 1992. But see U. Mauser, ‘Εἰς Θεός und Μόνος Θεός in Biblischer Theologie,’ *Jahrbuch für Biblischer Theologie* 1 (1986), 71–87, 84f.

CHAPTER FOUR

ISAIAH AND THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEMPLE

New Testament quotations from the Old Testament are primarily from the Pentateuch (51), Isaiah (38) and the Psalms (40).¹ Those from Isaiah appear in all four Gospels, Acts, Paul's letters and I Peter. When clear allusions are included, they total over 100 references,² mainly in Romans (20), Matthew (17) and I Peter (12). Interestingly, they often appear in composite forms in which two or more Old Testament references are merged into one citation.³

ISAIAN EXPOSITIONS IN THE GOSPELS

A number of New Testament citations and allusions from Isaiah occur in a *commentary* (= *midrash*) *pattern*. For example, the passage familiarly known as the parable of the wicked tenants (or vine dressers) is in fact a commentary on biblical texts and has the following form in Mt 21:33–44:⁴

- 33 – Opening text: allusion to Isa 5:1
- 33–41 – Exposition: Jesus' parable
- 42 – Closing text: Ps 118:22f. with an allusion to Isa 28:16; 8:14
- 44 – Second closing text: allusions to Dan 2:34f., 44f.

¹ Cf. H. B. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, Cambridge 1900, 386; E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991, 53.

² Cf. E. Nestle – K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart 1993, 789–793.

³ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991, 49ff., 86. E.g. Mt 21:5 (Isa 62:11 + Zech 9:9); Mk 1:3 (Mal 3:1 + Isa 40:3); 12:32f. (Isa 45:21 + Deut 6:4f. + Lev 19:18); Lk 4:18f. (Isa 61:1f. + 58:6 + 35:5f.); Jn 12:14f. (Isa 40:9 + Zech 9:9); Acts 15:16ff. (Am 9:11 + Jer 12:15 + Isa 45:21); Rom 3:10–18 (Eccl 7:20 + Ps 14:1–3 + 5:9 + 140:3 + 10:7 + Isa 59:7f. + Ps 36:1); 9:27f. (Hos 1:10 + Isa 10:22f. + 28:22); 9:32f. and I Pet 2:6, 8 (Isa 8:14 + 28:16); 11:8 (Isa 29:10 + Deut 29:4); 11:26f. (Isa 59:20f. + 27:9); I Cor 2:9 (Isa 64:4 + 52:15); I Cor 15:54f. (Isa 25:8 + Hos 13:14); II Cor 6:16–18 (Lev 26:11f. + Ezek 37:27 + Isa 52:11f. + II Sam 7:14); Heb 10:37f. (Isa 26:20 + Hab 2:3f.); Jas 2:23 (Gen 15:6 + Isa 41:8). For allusions cf. Mt 11:5 (Isa 29:18 + 35:5f. + 42:18 [+ 26:19] + 61:1); 24:29 (Isa 13:10 + 34:4); I Pet 2:9 (Isa 43:20f. + Exod 19:5f.).

⁴ Cf. Mk 12:1–12; Lk 20:9–19; E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity* (Tübingen 1978), 157f.

This literary pattern is known as a 'proem' or 'opening' midrash in a later and more stylized construction that is found in synagogue sermons of the rabbis. It utilizes catchwords ('stone,' 'build'/'builders') to link the texts and the exposition and, of course, it compresses to a great degree the actual sermon of Jesus on these texts.

A midrash-pattern of a similar type includes another Isaian passage in Mt 15:1-9:⁵

- 1-4 - Dialogue with question, counter-question and opening texts: Exod 20:12; 21:17
- 5-7 - Exposition with the catchwords 'honor' (4, 6, 8) and 'tradition' (2, 3, 6)
- 8-9 - Concluding text: Isa 29:13

This pattern, termed by the later rabbis *yelammedenu rabbenu* ('let our rabbi teach us'), is used to summarize Jesus' biblical debates with the establishment churchmen and theologians. On the other hand, the proem midrash, which is less frequent in the Gospels, is utilized for straightforward exposition.⁶

Independent citations from Isaiah often appear as 'testimonies' in which the Christian understanding of the Old Testament verse is presupposed, and they seem at times to have been extracted from earlier commentary-forms in which the Christian meaning of these texts was argued and established. Compare, for example, Mt 8:17:

He healed all who were sick
That it might be fulfilled
What was spoken by Isaiah the prophet, saying
'He himself took our infirmities
And bore our diseases.'

This citation of Isa 53:4 identifies Jesus without further ado as the Isaian Servant. It presupposes that Matthew's congregations had previously received some explanation of the passage, perhaps like the exposition which Jesus gave of Isa 61:1 and Isa 58:6 in his sermon at Nazareth (Lk 4:16-30, 18f.) or which Philip gave of Isa 53:7f. to the Ethiopian (Acts 8:30-35). In such passages the identification of

⁵ Cf. also Mt 12:1-8; 19:3-8; Lk 10:25-37. In Rom 9:6-29 a similar-type midrash is concluded by references to Hos 1:10 + Isa 10:22f. + 28:22 and to Isa 1:9. Cf. Ellis (note 1), 134-138; idem (note 4), 155, 157ff., 218f.

⁶ Also, for example, in I Cor 2:6-16; Gal 4:21-5:1; II Pet 3:3-13. Cf. Ellis (note 4), 216ff., 155f.; idem (note 1), 96-100.

Jesus with the Servant was determined by exegetical methods common to the Judaism of that day.⁷

Some Old Testament texts from Isaiah, whose Christian understanding was first demonstrated by biblical commentary, were also sometimes extracted from the commentary and used independently to form a *narrative midrash*.⁸ These texts provided a biblical framework that opened and closed a number of narrative episodes of the Gospels.⁹ The 'narrative midrash' pattern may be illustrated by the story of 'the Baptist and Jesus' in Mt 3:1–17.¹⁰

- 1–2 – Setting
- 3 – Opening text: Isa 40:3
- 4–6 – Narrative
- 7–15 – John's message and witness to Jesus
- 16 – The baptism of Jesus
- 16b–17 – Closing texts via the Heavenly Voice:
 Ps 2:7; Isa 42:1

Although Mark elaborated the opening text,¹¹ it is very probable that all three Synoptic Gospels utilized the same preformed narrative midrash and modified it slightly to fit their several purposes. Here again, all the Gospels assume the christological understanding of the opening and closing texts and thus presuppose a previous exposition of those texts in which their Christian interpretation had been worked out.¹² But what was the specific Christian understanding of the citations from Isaiah in the New Testament? What theological issues did they serve? To these questions we may now turn our attention.

⁷ Cf. Ellis (note 1), 100f.

⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 333–356, 350f.

⁹ E.g. the Magi and the Flight (Mt 2:1–23); the Entry and Cleansing the Temple (Mt 21:1–17 = Mk 11:1–11, 15–19 = Lk 19:28–40, 45f.); possibly the Transfiguration (Mt 17:1–13 = Mk 9:2–13 = Lk 9:28–33). One should not confuse this narrative midrash with a fictional or haggadic midrash that some rabbis employed to invent imaginary stories from an Old Testament word or verse. Otherwise: R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, Grand Rapids ²1994, 26–41; M. D. Goulder, *Midrash and Lecture in Matthew*, London 1974, 30, 236–242. See Ellis (note 1), 94f.

¹⁰ Mt 3:1–17 = Mk 1:2–11 = Lk 3:2b–22; cf. Jn 1:19–28. Cf. Ellis (note 8), 345f.

¹¹ Mk 1:2f. has interpreted Isa 40:3 by Mal 3:1 and has merged the two references into one citation, but he retains the formula, 'in Isaiah.' Similarly, Rom 9:27f. (Hos 1:10 + Isa 10:22f.). Cf. also J. Marcus, *The Way of the Lord*, Louisville KY 1992, 45ff.

¹² For example, such as one finds for Ps 2:7 in Paul's exposition at Antioch-by-Pisidia (Acts 13:16–41, cf. 33) and in the midrash at Heb 5:1–7:28, cf. 5:5. Cf. Ellis (note 1), 107, 99ff.

ISAIAN THEMES IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

Isaian quotations and clear allusions in the New Testament address a number of themes that include general judgment,¹³ judgment on the nation of Israel,¹⁴ the remnant,¹⁵ wisdom¹⁶ and miscellaneous topics.¹⁷ They are most numerous in the areas of eschatological salvation¹⁸ and of christology in its various aspects: the birth¹⁹ and ministry,²⁰ death and resurrection²¹ of Messiah, the Servant-Messiah,²² Messiah as the manifestation of Yahweh²³ and as God's eschatological temple.²⁴

¹³ E.g. Mt 24:29 parr; Mk 9:48; Rom 3:15ff; 9:20; 11:8; I Cor 1:19; 14:21; I Pet 2:12 = Isa 13:10; 66:24; 59:7ff; 29:16, 10, 14; 28:11f; 10:3.

¹⁴ E.g. Mt 13:14f. par; 15:8f. par; 21:13 parr; 21:33, 42 parr; Jn 12:40; Acts 28:26f; Rom 2:24 = Isa 6:9f; 29:13; 56:7; 5:1f; 8:14; 28:16; 52:5. Cf. F. Wilk, *Die Bedeutung des Jesajabuches für Paulus*, Göttingen 1998, 177–195.

¹⁵ E.g. Rom 9:27ff; 9:32f; 10:20f; cf. Mt 21:42 parr = Isa 10:22f; 1:9; 8:14; 28:16; 65:1f. Cf. D. A. Oss, 'Paul's Use of Isaiah [in] Romans 9–11,' Ph.D. Diss. Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia 1992.

¹⁶ E.g. Rom 11:34; I Cor 1:19; 2:16 = Isa 40:13; 29:14.

¹⁷ E.g. Mk 12:32; Acts 15:18; I Cor 14:25; 15:32; II Cor 9:10 = Isa 45:21 bis; 45:14; 22:13; 55:10; cf. Acts 4:24 with Isa 37:16.

¹⁸ E.g. Mt 3:3 parr = Jn 1:23; Mt 11:5 par; Lk 4:18f; Jn 6:45; Rom 10:15, 20f; 11:26f; 15:12; I Cor 15:54; cf. Rev 7:17 + 20:14 + 21:4; II Cor 6:17; Gal 4:27; Heb 10:37a; II Tim 2:19c; I Pet 1:24f; 2:9; Rev 7:16 = Isa 40:3; 29:18 + 35:5f. + 42:18 (+ 26:19) + 52:7 + 61:1 bis; 54:13; 65:1f; 59:20f. + 27:9; 11:10; 25:8; 52:11; 54:1; 26:20, 13; 40:6ff; 43:20f; 49:10. Cf. Wilk (note 14), 160–171.

¹⁹ E.g. Mt 1:23; Lk 1:31 = Isa 7:14. Cf. D. L. Bock, *Proclamation from Prophecy and Pattern*, Sheffield UK 1987, 55–90.

²⁰ E.g. Mt 4:15f; 21:5 = Isa 8:23–9:1; 62:11. In I Pet 4:14 the messianic prophecy in Isa 11:2 can be applied to Christians as the manifestation of the corporate Christ or, in Paul's idiom, of Christ's body.

²¹ E.g. Acts 13:34 = Isa 55:3, with 'sure' (πιστά) understood as 'imperishable' and linked to the resurrection affirmation in the Davidic Psalms 2:7 and 16:10 (Acts 13:33, 35; cf. 2:27; 4:25) that finds its fulfilment in Jesus, the eschatological David and the messianic king of Israel. Cf. Ellis (note 4), 166f., 170ff; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Grand Rapids 1990, 310; H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia 1987, 105; I. H. Marshall, *Acts*, Leicester UK 1980, 227f.

²² E.g. Mt 8:17; 12:18–21; Lk 4:18f; 22:37; I Pet 2:24; Jn 12:38; Rom 10:16; Acts 8:32; 13:47; Rom 15:21; II Cor 6:2; I Pet 2:22, 24f. = Isa 53:4; 42:1–4; 61:1f. + 58:6 + 35:5f; 53:12, 1, 7f; 49:6; 52:15; 49:8; 53:9, 4ff. Cf. W. Grimm, *Die Verkündigung Jesu und Deuterjesaja*, Frankfurt 1981; H. W. Wolff, *Jesaja 53 im Urchristentum*, Giessen 1984; O. Betz, 'Jesus and Isaiah 53,' *Jesus and the Suffering Servant*, ed. W. H. Bellinger, Harrisburg PA 1998, 70–87; D. Juel, *Messianic Exegesis*, Philadelphia 1988, 119–133; D. J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives*, Sheffield UK 1983, 79–172.

²³ E.g. Mt 1:23; 3:3 par; Jn 1:23; Rom 14:11; Phil 2:11; I Pet 3:14f. = Isa 8:8, 10; 40:3(–5); 45:23; 8:12f. Cf. D. B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology*, Tübingen 1992.

²⁴ E.g. Acts 7:49f; ? Acts 15:16; Rom 9:32f, cf. 10:11 = I Pet 2:8, 6; cf. Eph 2:20; II Tim 2:19a = Isa 66:1f; 45:21; 8:14 + 28:16.

It is remarkable how many of these theological themes are rooted in the teachings of Jesus. His pronouncement of the final destruction of the wicked in hell (γέεννα) and his judgment upon the rejecting nation are often voiced in the words of Isaiah's oracles.²⁵ At the same time, his gospel of salvation and his healings are also declared to be the fulfilment of Isaiah's prophecies.²⁶ One characteristic Isaian theme in the New Testament is the eschatological temple, the topic that the present chapter will address.

THE ESCHATOLOGICAL TEMPLE

Jesus the Cornerstone

The 'temple' motif appears in two forms, one in which Jesus is the capstone or cornerstone of God's new temple and the other in which Jesus is the new temple as such. The first is most prominent in the Pauline epistles²⁷ and in I Peter²⁸ but it begins, apparently, in Jesus' exposition of Isa 5 (Mt 21:33–44) outlined above where it appears in a concluding reference to Ps 118:22.²⁹

The [temple] stone that the builders rejected³⁰
This one has become head of the corner.

In Ps 118 the temple motif includes the setting of the Psalm as a temple ritual celebrating the (anticipated) victory and enthronement

²⁵ See above, notes 13 and 14; below, Chapter XIV, 179–199.

²⁶ E.g. Mt 11:5 par; Lk 4:18–21; see above, note 18. Cf. R. Schneck, *Isaiah in the Gospel of Mark I–VIII*, Vallejo CA 1994.

²⁷ It may be seen in the commentary-pattern at Rom 9:30–10:21: Theme (9:30ff.) + Opening text (9:33 = Isa 28:16 + 8:14) + Exposition (10:1–18) sprinkled with supplementary texts (Lev 18:5; Deut 30:12–14; Isa 28:16; Joel 2:32; Isa 52:7; Isa 53:1; Ps 19:4) + Concluding texts (10:19–21 = Deut 32:21; Isa 65:1f.). Cf. also Ellis (note 3), 89–92, 108.

²⁸ I Pet 2:6–8 combines Isa 28:16, Ps 118:22 and Isa 8:14. Cf. W. L. Schutter, *Hermeneutic and Composition in I Peter*, Tübingen 1989, 123–144; R. J. McKelvey, *The New Temple*, Oxford 1969, 125–133; Ellis (note 8), 75f., 137f.

²⁹ See C. A. Kimball, *Jesus' Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke's Gospel*, Sheffield UK 1994, 147–164 and the literature cited. Cf. D. Kidner, *Psalms*, 2 vols., London 1975, II, 412–416; J. A. Alexander, *The Psalms*, Grand Rapids 1975 (1873), 475, 479. On the messianic interpretation of Ps 118 in Judaism cf. H. J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, Minneapolis 1986, 193; (H. L. Strack and) P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, 4 vols., München 1922–28, I, 876 (on Mt 21:42). Although writing later, the rabbis scarcely drew their interpretation from the Christians. On Jesus' allusion in Matt 21:44 also to Isa 8:14f. cf. R. T. France, *Jesus and the Old Testament*, London 1971, 152f.

³⁰ Cf. the more pointed citation of Ps 118:22 at Acts 4:11: 'Despised by you builders.'

of the Messiah of the House of David.³¹ In Jesus' usage it is present in his claim not only to be the eschatological David (or the Davidic Messiah) to whom the Psalm in its Jewish usage referred but, more puzzling, to be the chief cornerstone in the messianic temple.

When Jesus' implicit identification of himself with the temple-stone is set beside his prophecies that 'your [temple] house (οἶκος) is left to you desolate,'³² and that the temple will be destroyed (καταλυθήσεται),³³ the temple motif becomes the motif of two temples, the messianic or eschatological temple of which the temple of national Israel is (only) the type.³⁴ In Jesus' exposition the temple-stone motif presents to the religious leaders an 'eschatological threat'³⁵ that they will be replaced by a judgment of God. In the post-resurrection usage it underscores the resurrection-victory of the Messiah Jesus and his pre-eminent place in God's new temple, the messianic Israel.³⁶ It is so represented in Peter's speech at Acts 4:11 and in the exposition of his First Epistle (I Pet 2:4–10)³⁷ where the quotation of Ps 118:22 is combined with citations from Isa 28:16 and 8:14. The same temple-stone imagery, utilizing these Isaian passages, is developed independently by Paul in the midrash at Rom 9:30–10:21³⁸ and is alluded to by him elsewhere.³⁹

In sum, the identification of Christ as the cornerstone in God's

³¹ A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1955, 114–118, 117f. Cf. S. Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship*, 2 vols., Nashville 1962, II, 75ff.; A. Weiser, *The Psalms*, Philadelphia 1962, 728f.; L. C. Allen and P. C. Craigie, *Psalms*, 3 vols., Waco TX 1983–, III, 124f. Otherwise: H. J. Kraus, *Psalms*, 2 vols., Minneapolis 1989, II, 396, 399f. Of course, Ps 118 may have been originally composed to celebrate a military victory of David or of a Davidic king and, subsequently, given a future messianic connotation.

³² Mt 23:38; cf. Lk 13:35, followed by another citation of Ps 118: 'Blessed is the one who comes [to His temple] in the name of the Lord' (118:26).

³³ Mt 24:2.

³⁴ On typology as a key to the New Testament's interpretation of the Old cf. Ellis (note 1), 57f., 61ff., 72, 105–109, 148–157.

³⁵ So, J. Jeremias, 'Ἰηθός,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 275, who offers an instructive discussion of the theme (271–277).

³⁶ The Qumran sect also regarded itself as God's temple, for example, in 1QS 8:5, 8ff.; 4QFlor 1:1–13. Cf. G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in its Jewish Context*, Sheffield UK 1985, 178–193; but see G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*, Göttingen 1971, 50–93.

³⁷ Cf. Ellis (note 8), 136ff.

³⁸ See above, note 27. On the dependence of Rom 9:33 and I Pet 2:6, 8 on a common preformed tradition cf. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, London ³1953, 41ff.

³⁹ E.g. Eph 2:19–22.

eschatological temple is implicitly made by Jesus in his citation of Ps 118:22 in the exposition at Matt 21:33–44. After the resurrection, and with an understanding of Jesus as a corporate being including his followers, the temple-stone motif was expanded to include texts from Isa 8:14; 28:16 and to incorporate all Christian believers as stones in God's eschatological temple (Eph 2:19–22; I Pet 2:4–10) and to constitute them *pars pro toto* as that temple itself (I Cor 3:16; 6:19).

The Individual and the Corporate Christ

The temple-stone motif is, however, only one aspect of the New Testament teaching on the eschatological temple. The other, also rooted in a teaching of Jesus, originates in his identification of his body, that is, himself with God's temple. It is stated most explicitly by the Gospel of John as a teaching of Jesus in Jerusalem:⁴⁰

'Destroy (λύσατε) this temple (ναόν)
And in three days I will raise it up.'
The Jews said
'This temple has been forty-six years in building
And you will raise it up in three days?'
But he was speaking of the temple of his body.

Jn 2:19–21

The 'eschatological temple' motif also appears in Mark's parenthetic qualification of the false interpretation given this saying at the trial of Jesus:

We heard him saying
'I will destroy (καταλύσω) this temple (made with hands)
And in three days
I will build another' (not made with hands).

Mk 14:58

⁴⁰ Cf. John 2:22; Matt 26:61; 27:40; cf. Mark 14:58; 15:29f. Luke, typically, omits these incidents in the light of his intention to address the question in Acts 6:14; 7:46–50 (cf. Ellis, note 8, 156f., 355). The Gospel of John offers the clearest statement of the wording and of the occasion, that is, a demand for a sign following Jesus' cleansing of the temple. However, apparently for thematic reasons, John shifts the scene to the beginning of his Gospel. Of the variety of interpretations, it is most probable that Jesus answered the demand for a sign with a riddle (*mashal*) (as he did in Matt 12:38–40), in which 'temple' refers solely to his body as the true locus of God's presence and of God's power. Cf. John 4:21–23; 6:32; 15:1; Matt 12:6. The false witnesses at Jesus' trial may have confused the riddle with Jesus' prediction that the Jerusalem temple would be destroyed (Matt 24:2 parr).

The terms 'made with hands' (χειροποίητος)⁴¹ and 'not made with hands' (ἀχειροποίητος)⁴² refer respectively to the old covenant and the new covenant, the present age and the eschatological age, the present creation and the resurrection creation. They sometimes appear where the contrast of old and new covenant is combined with that of the present and resurrection creations:

In [Christ] you were circumcised
With a circumcision *not made with hands*
In the circumcision of [Christ's death] . . .
Having been buried . . . and raised with him. . . .

Col 2:11

Christ [became] a high priest of the good things to come
Of the greater and more perfect tent
Not made with hands, that is, not of this creation . . .
Through his own blood he entered the holy of holies. . . .
For Christ did not enter into the holy of holies *made with hands*
But into heaven (οὐρανόν) itself.

Heb 9:11, 24

These texts contrast the circumcision and priestly intercessions of the old covenant with the new-covenant circumcision effected by Christ's death and with the tent, that is, the temple of the new creation now existing in and with the exalted Christ in heaven. With its covenant typology Hebrews identifies the exalted Christ in his mediatorial function as the high priest serving in the temple of the new creation. In II Cor 5 Paul, on the other hand, identifies the (corporate) Christ with the new temple itself. He gives only a cosmic dimension to the two houses or temples, identifying them respectively with the present creation in Adam and with the resurrection creation in Christ:⁴³

If our earthly house of this tent is destroyed (καταλύθη)
We have a building from God
A house (οἰκία) *not made with hands*
Everlasting, in the heavens (οὐρανοίς).

II Cor 5:1

⁴¹ Cf. Acts 7:48; 17:24; Eph 2:11; Heb 9:24. In the Septuagint the term refers to idols as 'hand-made things.'

⁴² II Cor 5:1; Col 2:11; cf. Heb 9:11. See above, 44-49.

⁴³ See below, 147-164, 171ff. Otherwise: R. H. Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids ²1987, 149-154.

In Luke's account of the Council of Jerusalem James stays wholly within a covenantal dimension in his citation of Amos 9:11:

'I will rebuild the tent of David that is fallen . . .
So that the rest of men may seek the Lord
Even the Gentiles who are called by my name. . . .'

Acts 15:16f.

Here the rebuilt tent of the new covenant is nothing other than the eschatological temple that Luke has earlier alluded to in his summary of Stephen's sermon preceding the Hellenist mission of Acts 8:4f.; 11:19f.

David [found] a tent (σκήνωμα) for the God of Jacob
And Solomon built him a house (οἶκον)
But the Most High does not dwell in *things made with hands*
Just as the prophet says
'Heaven is my throne and earth my footstool. . . .
What house will you build for me . . . ?
Did not *my hand make all these things?*' (Isa 66:1f.)

Acts 7:46–50

The quotation of Stephen from Isaiah is significant in a number of respects for understanding the New Testament teaching on the new temple.

1. It cites the only Old Testament text that identifies 'hand-made things' with the present creation (rather than with idols) and thereby provides the most likely background for the New Testament use of this idiom.⁴⁴
2. It probably implicitly contrasts the temple of the old covenant with the new reality in which God dwells with the one who is humble and contrite (Isa 66:2b) and for whom he creates 'the new heavens and the new earth' (Isa 66:22).⁴⁵ If so, Stephen's exposition supplies the exegetical foundation for the contrast made elsewhere in the New Testament between the temple or house 'made with hands' and that 'not made with hands.'

⁴⁴ Stephen interprets 'hand-made things' (χειροποιήτους, Acts 7:48) by his quotation of Isa 66:2: 'My hand made (ἡ χεὶρ μου ἐποίησεν) all these things' (Acts 7:50). In this way he expands the reference beyond the tabernacle and temple to include the whole present creation, a fact that the commentaries generally overlook.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. Bright, 'Isaiah,' *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, ed. M. Black, London 1963, 534f., who believes that Isa 66:1f. corresponds to 65:8–10, where the future heritage of God's chosen ones is in view.

This conclusion is supported by the fact that the idioms, 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands,' are found only in New Testament documents proceeding from the Hellenist missions. They appear in the writings of the (later) Petrine mission (Mk 14:58) and of the Pauline mission (Acts 7:48; 17:24; Eph 2:11; Col 2:11; Heb 9:11, 24). The Hellenist believers, that is, those who were or who became ritually lax, saw more quickly and more clearly than their ritually strict Hebraist brothers the racially inclusive and the cosmic dimension of the new creation (κτίσις) actualized in Christ's resurrection.⁴⁶ It may well be that Stephen, the Hellenist prophet and preacher in Jerusalem who stood at the beginning of the Hellenist mission, offered the initial insight into this aspect of the teaching of Jesus and of the book of Isaiah.

⁴⁶ On the identity and the distinctions between the Hellenists and the Hebraists (Acts 6:1) in the early church cf. Ellis, 'The Circumcision Party and the Early Christian Mission' (note 4), 116–128; idem (note 8), 287f., 315–318; idem, 'Foreword,' to H. Harris, *The Tübingen School*, Grand Rapids ²1990, xvf.

CHAPTER FIVE

LUKE 9 AND THE SOURCES OF ITS CHRISTOLOGY

The application of composition criticism to Lk 9 can contribute to understanding the purpose of St. Luke, both within this passage and also for the Gospel as a whole. The application, in turn, of source criticism to the passage leads us toward the origins of the traditions and of the Christology expressed in them.

HEROD'S QUESTION AND LUKE'S RESPONSE

Herod's words, 'Who is this?' (Lk 9:9), pose a question that the following episodes then answer, both in explicit titles given to Jesus and in the thrust of the narratives.¹

However, Herod is only one of a series of persons in Luke's Gospel who ask of Jesus, 'Who is this?' The theologians and churchmen (5:21), John the Baptist (7:20), the guests of Simon the Pharisee (7:49), the disciples in the storm (8:25), the Sanhedrin (22:67, 70) and Pilate (23:3) make essentially the same query. In each case, the question arises because of Jesus' miracles and his assertion of messianic or divine prerogatives, for example, his claim to forgive sin.² The question sets forth a basic theme of the Gospel, that is, the meaning of Jesus' messiahship and of his person. And it appears that Luke, as far as his traditions allow, selects representative figures to raise it. In Herod, Luke sees such a figure and, as we hope to show, has traditions that occasion and justify his use of Herod in this way.

The episodes in Lk 9:10-50 give Luke's response to Herod's question. They affirm that Jesus is the one who imparts life-giving nourishment (16), is the Messiah of God (20), the chosen and unique 'Son' who alone brings God's saving word (35),³ the teacher whose works manifest the majesty of God (43), and the Son of man who

¹ E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids 1996, 131-150.

² Also, the term Son of God (22:70; 9:20D) sometimes carries more than messianic connotations in Luke (cf. 1:35; 10:22). For Mark see above, 38-51.

³ See above, note 2.

will enter his glory through suffering (22, 29ff., 44). These affirmations are not only Luke's response but also that of other postresurrection Christian leaders, who truly have come to know who Jesus is.

But the Lukan episodes present another answer that retains, I suggest, the perspective of preresurrection mission: No one except God (35) and Jesus himself knows who Jesus is. The crowds think that he is the Baptist, or Elijah, or a resurrected Old Testament prophet. Only Peter understands, and he misunderstands. His misunderstanding is evident in the Transfiguration story where he, 'not knowing what he said' (33), wrongly places Jesus on a level with Moses and Elijah⁴ and is rebuked by the Heavenly Voice. It is confirmed again in Luke's comment on the Passion prediction: The disciples 'did not understand this saying, and it had been hidden from them in order that they might not perceive it' (45). Finally, it underlies the last episode of the section (46–50): The disciples' idea of greatness and legitimacy reflects their ignorance of the meaning of Jesus' mission and, therefore, of who Jesus is. No less than Mark, Luke presents Jesus' messiahship as something that is concealed⁵ but, with reference to the disciples he has somewhat different emphasis. Unlike Mark (8:32) and Matthew (16:22), who call attention to the disciples' opposition to Jesus' conception of a suffering Messiah, Luke stresses only their incomprehension and misunderstanding. In this respect Luke regards the disciples as one with the crowds and with Herod.

Running through the episodes, then, is a double answer to Herod's question, with accompanying notes of exaltation (6, 17, 20, 32, 43) and rejection (9, 22, 44). When this is recognized, the role of these episodes as a prelude to Luke's central section (9:51–19:44) may be more fully appreciated. Jesus is God's glorious Messiah, but he is a messiah destined to be abandoned and rejected. This rejection forms the context in which Jesus sets his face to go to Jerusalem. Thus, the central section of Luke is framed by two episodes underscoring this fact, the rejection in Samaria (9:51–56) and the rejection in Jerusalem (19:41–44).⁶

⁴ Luke (1:17, 76; 7:26–28) already has identified John the Baptist with Elijah. He does not, therefore, use (repetitiously) the Elijah saying of Mark 9:9–13.

⁵ Cf. Luke 4:34f., 41; 5:14. See above, 43; below, 274.

⁶ Cf. Ellis (note 1), 223f.

LUKE'S SOURCES

A second issue in Lk 9:1–50 concerns the source of the Lukan variations from Mark, both in Herod's question and in the episodes following. Each of the episodes has a Markan parallel and, apart from the omission of Mk 6:45–8:26 at Lk 9:17, each follows the Markan order. Therefore, if one accepts the traditional two-document hypothesis,⁷ one must ascribe the non-Markan variations either to Lukan editorial or to his use of oral traditions. However, if one recognizes that Luke used written sources in addition to Mark, the traditional character of the variations suggests that the resultant Lukan formulation also was based on or influenced by traditional antecedents.⁸ In this situation one can see the importance of source criticism for the tasks of redaction and composition criticism.

It is unfortunate but true that after two hundred years of historical analysis no agreement about the sources of the Gospels has been achieved. One can here only offer a considered opinion that for Luke the most probable working hypothesis remains one that includes at least three types of written sources: Mark, extra-Markan traditions in common with Matthew (= Q), and traditions peculiar to Luke (= L). In the case of Q the hypothesis of a single document, a sayings source consisting of 'a collection of precepts, parables and discourses,' was first advanced 200 years ago (under the symbol $\mathfrak{Q}$) by Herbert Marsh of Cambridge.⁹ However, attempts to demonstrate this – recently from the common order in Matthew and Luke of some Q episodes¹⁰ – show at most only the unity of several smaller sections of Q material.¹¹ The relative order of a number of Q epi-

⁷ So, e.g. F. Neirynck, *Evangelica II*, Leuven 1991, passim; similar, J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1985.

⁸ This does not mean that they are thereby less 'Lukan.' Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 38. See below, Chapter IX, 105ff.

⁹ H. Marsh, 'Origin and Composition of Our Three First Canonical Gospels,' in J. D. Michaelis, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 4 vols. in 6, Cambridge, 1793–1801, IV Appendix, 202. Earlier (1794) J. G. Eichhorn had posited written 'sources' for the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke, and later (1804) he also identified them as one document. Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament. The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 78 = GT: 92.

¹⁰ Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament*, Nashville 1975, 65f.

¹¹ Cf. C. M. Tuckett, *Q and the History of Early Christianity*, Peabody MA 1996, 34–39; V. Taylor, 'The Original Order of Q,' *New Testament Essays. FS T. W. Manson*, ed. A. J. B. Higgins, Manchester 1959, 246–269; Fitzmyer (note 7), I, 77: 'the remnant of a common sequence.' But see M. Goulder, *Luke*, 2 vols., Sheffield UK 1989, I, 27–71; B. Reicke, *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*, Philadelphia 1986,

sodes or sections is predetermined by the Markan model or by the commonly received sequence of Jesus' mission (e.g. the accounts of the Baptism, Temptation, Eschatological Discourse). The remaining (one-third of) Q episodes that *may* have been arranged on the model of a Q document would form in any case only a minor part of the Q material. Lacking evidence that Q was one document, one should make no assumptions about its unity but, along the lines of form criticism, should reckon with several tracts or collections of tradition.

A more important question for interpreting Luke 9 is the 'minor agreements' of Matthew and Luke against Mark. B. H. Streeter sought to explain such phenomena as coincidence or textual corruption.¹² But are the agreements so minor, and is Streeter's explanation adequate? In the episodes of Luke 9 there are the following agreements with Matthew:¹³

1. 9:1-9: Seven words (2, 5, 7), two phrases of three words each (1, 5) and one of two words (4), partial agreement of one verse (2). All but one agreement are in 9:1-6.
2. 9:10-17: Ten words (12, 12, 14, 16, 17), one phrase of four words (11), approximate agreement of one word (10) and of a reference to healing (11).
3. 9:18-27: Three words (19, 20), one phrase of two words (20) and one of four words (22). All agreements are in 9:18-22.
4. 9:28-36: Two words (31, 35), one phrase of three words (29), approximate agreement of one phrase of three words (34), word order (30).
5. 9:37-45: Five words (38, 40, 41, 44), approximate agreement of one phrase of two words (41) and one of four words (42).
6. 9:46-50: None

From this analysis one receives the impression that, with the exception of 9:23-27, 46-50 and perhaps of 9:7-9, Luke has used Q traditions in addition to Mark in composing this chapter. Prof. Tim Schramm's book, *Der Markus-Stoff bei Lucas*, reaches similar conclusions: Luke 9:7-9, 46-50 is composed of Markan material slightly reworked; the rest of Luke 9:1-50 (with the possible exception of 9:23-27) is Markan material that has been altered under the influence

45-67, 185-189; idem, 'Entstehungsverhältnisse der synoptischen Evangelien,' *ANRW* II, 25, 2 (1984), 1758-1791, 1781-1789; Ellis (note 8), 391-396.

¹² B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, Oxford 1927, 179ff., 293-331. Cf. Fitzmyer (note 7), 142ff., 155f.

¹³ Agreements only in grammar or of a negative character (i.e. common absence of words) are not counted.

of non-Markan sources.¹⁴ Noting a Lukan tendency to combine traditions, Schramm sought to isolate non-Markan sources from Lukan editorial in the triple tradition. For this task he used several 'indicators': agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark, special Lukan (L) material unlikely to be editorial,¹⁵ semitisms replacing Markan idiom, and certain other divergencies from Mark in style and content. Schramm concludes, justifiably in my judgment, that a rigid two-document hypothesis is an oversimplification of the Synoptic problem.

THE CHRISTOLOGY OF LUKE 9

If this conclusion is correct, what effect does it have on the composition criticism of Lk 9, specifically on the Herod pericope and on the christological (and soteriological) emphases following upon it? The title, God's Messiah, and the greater stress upon Jesus' healings (2, 11, 42; cf. 6) are taken from Q episodes. The same is true of Jesus' glorified countenance in the Transfiguration (29). Other non-Markan elements in the Transfiguration, e.g. Jesus' glory (32) and the disciples' fear (34; cf. 36b), are more difficult to assign; but the presence of semitisms suggests the use of a tradition.¹⁶ In the last episode Jesus' knowledge of the disciples' thoughts (47) and the title 'Master' (49)¹⁷ appear to be editorial. The marveling crowd in the second Passion prediction (43ab) may have the same explanation, but it is not necessarily Luke's creation since the element of 'marveling' may have been present in the Q version of the episode (cf. Luke 7:9; 8:25).

It is difficult to make sure distinctions between Luke's use of non-extant traditional material and his variations *de novo*.¹⁸ But his composition of Luke 9 appears to have been achieved by the selection and combination of traditions. Even his placing of Peter's confession

¹⁴ T. Schramm, *Der Markus-Stoff bei Lukas*, Cambridge 1971, 29n, 185f.; cf. 70–85. Otherwise: Fitzmyer (note 7), I, 751, 763, 792.

¹⁵ Idem, 77f.; cf. J. C. Hawkins, *Horae Synopticae*, Oxford 1968 (1909), 194–97. Otherwise: H. Schürmann, *Lukasevangelium*, Freiburg 1969, 521–574, *passim*.

¹⁶ I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, Exeter UK 1978, 181; Schramm (note 14), 139. Cf. A. A. Trites, 'The Transfiguration in the Theology of Luke,' *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament. FS G. B. Caird*, edd. L. D. Hurst *et al.*, Oxford 1987, 73f. But see Fitzmyer (note 7), 791f.

¹⁷ Of the five NT occurrences (all Lukan), three occur in episodes dependent on Mark and Q, two in L traditions.

¹⁸ See below, 105–107.

after the feeding miracle, which is the major break with the Markan order, may have a traditional basis. As J. Schniewind and others have shown,¹⁹ Luke has traditions in common with the Fourth Gospel; and that Gospel also connects the feeding miracle and Peter's confession in a somewhat similar fashion (John 6:14, 68–69).

In conclusion we may return to Herod's question (9:7ff.). Is it not clearly Luke's creation designed to provide the headline for the following stories? Since Dibelius' essay this view has been widely accepted. It is true that the pericope has a number of Lukan characteristics,²⁰ and the one Q parallel (ὁ τετραάρχης) may well be coincidental. But it should be noted that Herod's question includes, alongside the christological reference, an allusion to the passion: Herod wants to *see* Jesus. This points forward to Herod's interview with Jesus in Luke 23:6–12, composed out of Luke's special traditions,²¹ where Herod's long-standing desire is explicitly stated (23:8). Luke may infer from that tradition the earlier curiosity of Herod and in this way find traditional support for introducing the question at Lk 9:9. However, other references to the passion in Luke 9 are dependent on pre-Lukan traditions, including the Semitic-styled pericope on the coming 'exodus' of Jesus.²² Episodes mentioning Herod Antipas elsewhere in Luke-Acts²³ also are largely of a literary and traditional charac-

¹⁹ J. Schniewind, *Die Paralleelperikopen bei Lukas und Johannes*, Darmstadt 1958 (1914). Cf. Ellis (note 8), 140f., 251f., 395; idem (note 1), 28. There is also a limited but discernible affinity between Luke and John in the general 'model' on which their Gospels are formed: revelation of the Son of God (Lk 1–2; Jn 1), public works of Jesus, teaching section (Lk 10–19; Jn 13–17), passion and resurrection.

²⁰ Schramm (note 14), 128.

²¹ Lk 23 contains traditions in common with the Gospel of John, but the Herod episode is not in the latter Gospel. It was probably composed by Luke himself out of tradition contained in a non-Markan source (V. Taylor, *The Passion Narrative of St. Luke*, Cambridge 1972, 89). Cf. Schniewind (note 19), 62–85.

²² Luke 9:31–34. Schramm (note 14), 133f., 138f., notes the following Semitic constructions: parallelism (34), *egeneto*-clause (33), *en to* + infinitive (33, 34, 36), *conjugatio periphrastica* (32), parataxis (34, 36). Cf. K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament I*, Göttingen 1962; J. H. Moulton–N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1908–1976, III, 398. See below, 219f.

²³ Lk 13:31; Acts 4:27; cf. Lk 8:3; 13:1. Cf. H. W. Hoehner, *Herod Antipas*, Cambridge 1972, 224–250. Otherwise, M. Dibelius, 'Herodes und Pilatus,' *ZNTW*, 16 (1915), 113–126, who conjectures that Ps 2:1f. (cf. Acts 4:25) became the occasion for creating the story in Lk 23:6–12. In my judgment the priorities of early Christian ('eschatological') exegesis were just the opposite: the (tradition of an) event was ordinarily the prerequisite from which the search of the Scriptures proceeded. While the chosen text often influenced the *description* of the event, i.e. the 'fulfilment,' it was not the occasion for creating events out of whole cloth. For example, from the Scriptures one could argue that Messiah was to be born either in Galilee (Isa

ter. On balance, Herod's question, like the subsequent episodes, is probably to be ascribed to a Lukan combination and reworking of pre-Lukan traditions. Thus, the Evangelist's contribution turns out to be more editorial organization than creative addition. In Luke 9, at least, his traditions are the matrix of his theology.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions above are significant at a number of points for the christological statements in Lk 9: (1) The two Passion predictions (22, 43–45) of the suffering 'Son of man,' together with Peter's confession of Jesus as 'Messiah' and the command to secrecy (18–21; cf. 44f.), are attested in both Mark and Q. (2) The same appears to be true of the threefold messianic attribution by the divine voice in the Transfiguration (35f.): the royal 'Son' (Ps 2:7), the 'elect' Servant (Isa 42:1) and the eschatological prophet (Deut 18:15, 18f.: αὐτοῦ ἀκούετε); for the allusion to the Servant is clearly present only in a Q tradition that is given in (different) part by Matthew and Luke.²⁴ In contrast to these relatively direct messianic affirmations is the implicit Christology of the Feeding story (10–17), i.e. that Jesus is one like Moses, and the non-messianic speculation about Jesus in the Herod episode (7–9). Thus, the motif of the 'messianic secret' is the common property of Mark and Q, and it is implicit within the several episodes quite apart from the express commands to secrecy. That is, the hidden character of Jesus' messiahship, as it appears in Mark and Q, has not been imported into a non-messianic tradition at certain points but is indigenous to the tradition as a whole.²⁵

9:1f.) or in Bethlehem (Mic 5:2). The early Christian expositors chose the 'Bethlehem' passage because they already had a 'Bethlehem' tradition about Jesus' birth. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 94f.

²⁴ Namely, רֵאָה = εὐδοκεῖν, בָּחַר = ἐκλέκτος (Isa 42:1 Theodotion); cf. Matt 17:5; Lk 9:35. The Markan ἀγαπητός = 'only' (cf. Mk 12:7) also may allude to Isa 42; cf. J. Jeremias, 'παῖς θεοῦ', *TDNT* 5 (1967/1954), 664–717, 701. But it is uncertain. Since a Q *Vorlage* is reflected in the episode as a whole, a Q tradition rather than Mark more likely lies behind the clear allusions to Isa 42 in Matthew and Luke. The story of the Transfiguration may have been transmitted originally in the context of a midrash on Exod 34:27–35 in which Ps 2:7, Isa 42:1 and Deut 18:15, 18f. served as supporting texts. If so, in the development of the tradition the biblical texts were stripped away, leaving only the Old Testament allusions incorporated into the voice from heaven. Cf. Ellis (note 8), 347.

²⁵ See above, 42ff. Otherwise: W. Wrede, *The Messianic Secret*, London 1971 (1901),

As far as it can take us, the source criticism of Lk 9 does not suggest that Jesus had a non-messianic view of his ministry or that he made public claim to the title Messiah. Of the three messianic predicates in the heavenly voice, two – the suffering servant and the prophet like Moses – are implicitly confirmed in the Feeding story and in the Passion predictions. The third, the royal Son, may find a parallel in Peter's confession. At an early stage in the Gospel tradition, then – at least as early as the Q traditions – various messianic images from the Old Testament had been carefully related to one another and set forth in the context of the words and works of Jesus.

How far does this take us toward the preresurrection teaching of Jesus? If one assumes, with some of the earlier form criticism, a caesura between Jesus and the earliest church, it does not take us very far. But if the historical probabilities suggest that there was no caesura and that Jesus himself taught his disciples to understand their Bible in terms of his mission,²⁶ a different conclusion will follow. In this case the perceptive use of the Old Testament in Lk 9 would be indebted, as the Evangelist suggests it to be, to the teaching of Jesus, a teaching that like pieces of a puzzle fell into place in the light of the stupendous event of the resurrection.

145, who attributed to Mark 'an important share' in developing an (unhistorical) idea of a messianic secret. But see J. D. G. Dunn, 'The Messianic Secret in Mark,' *The Messianic Secret*, ed. C. Tuckett, London 1983, 116–140.

²⁶ Cf. C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures*, London 1953, 110; Ellis (note 8), 30–33; idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978; Grand Rapids 1993, 132–135; idem (note 8), 248–251.

CHAPTER SIX

BACKGROUND AND CHRISTOLOGY OF JOHN'S GOSPEL: SELECTED MOTIFS

THE BACKGROUND

The value of the Fourth Gospel rests ultimately in its recognition by Christians from the earliest time as a prophetic revelation, an inspired account of Jesus' acts and teachings. But it may be clarified and further defined by some attention to several historical and literary questions. Who is the Evangelist? Did he (1) compose the Gospel *de novo*, (2) collect and arrange preformed materials or, taking a middle way, (3) combine traditions and personal experiences to serve his own themes and purposes? Did he intend to mediate traditions of our Lord's earthly ministry or to use that ministry only as a frame to enclose teachings of the exalted Christ through the Spirit?

Who is John?

From the second-century church come two witnesses of primary importance for identifying the Evangelist, the title of the Gospel and the testimony of Irenaeus. The title, 'Gospel according to John' (εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην), is probably to be dated no later than the first decade of the second century¹ and thus within the normal lifetime of many who were present at its publication. Indeed, our earliest manuscript so titled, Papyrus Bodmer II (p66), may possibly date from before AD 150.²

But which John does the title refer to? Irenaeus of Lyons (c. AD 130–200) provides the first clear information, identifying the author as 'John, the disciple of the Lord, who also leaned upon his breast'

¹ In the Gospel title εὐαγγέλιον is a collective, the 'good news' as it is manifested in a particular document. This usage, applied to a written document, fades out after the mid-second century. Cf. B. Reicke, *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*, Philadelphia 1986, 150–155; M. Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, London 1985, 81–84: The titles 'can be traced back to the time of the origin of the four Gospels...' (84).

² H. Hunger, 'Zur Datierung des Bodmer II,' *AÖAW* 4 (1960), 12–23, cited in R. Riesner, 'Bethany Beyond Jordan (Jn 1:28),' *TB* 38 (1987), 33.

(Jn 13:23 ff.). Elsewhere he calls John an 'apostle,' that is, one of the Twelve.³ In another treatise he discloses that as a youth he was instructed by Polycarp (c. AD 69–155), a bishop of Smyrna who had earlier known 'apostles in Asia,' including 'John the disciple of the Lord.'⁴ Therefore, while Irenaeus wrote from Gaul about AD 180, his testimony on this matter is in all likelihood rooted in information he received in Asia Minor before the middle of the second century from one who had known John in Ephesus.⁵ Since Irenaeus does not actually name Polycarp as the source of his views in this matter, his witness is not conclusive. But it is, as C. H. Dodd put it, 'formidable' and cannot be lightly set aside⁶ even if (like Paul's writings) the Gospel was also embraced by certain heretical groups and its Johannine origin sometimes denied.⁷

The classic statement for Johannine authorship from evidence internal to the Gospel was that of B. F. Westcott⁸ who, in concentric circles, identified the author with increasing specificity as (1) a Jew (2) of Palestine, (3) an eyewitness,⁹ (4) an apostle, (5) the Apostle John. The clearest internal evidence is Jn 21:24:

³ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, 3, 1, 1; 1, 9, 2.

⁴ Irenaeus, *Letter to Florinus* cited in Eusebius, *HE* 5, 20, 4–8.

⁵ Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3, 3, 4, where, in relating Polycarp's story about John at Ephesus, the first person plural (φύγωμεν) is used, indicating that Polycarp was present at the occasion. Cf. *Irenee de Lyon, Contre les heresies. Livre III* (SC 210, 211), 2 vols., edd. A. Rousseau and L. Doutreleau, Paris 1974, I, 240; II, 43.

⁶ C. H. Dodd, *The Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge ²1965, 12. He continues, 'Of any external evidence to the contrary that could be called cogent I am not aware' (12). See further the discussion of E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 143–152; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Priority of John*, London 1985, 99–104.

⁷ For the most extensive discussion of the patristic witnesses cf. T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Johannes*, Wuppertal 1983 (1921), 1–7, 12–23; idem, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols., Grand Rapids 1953 (³1909), III, 174–206 = GT: Wuppertal ³1994, II, 452–474. Cf. also R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1970, I, lxxxviii–xcii, xcvi, who, however, later decided against Johannine authorship, apparently in the interest of interpreting the Johannine literature as the outworking of a long-term dialectical process (R. E. Brown, *The Community of the Beloved Disciple*, New York 1979, 33f., passim).

⁸ B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John: Greek Text*, 2 vols. in 1, Grand Rapids 1980 (1908), I, ix–lix. His argument is followed by A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. John (CGT)*, Grand Rapids 1981 (1882), xx–xxxvii. Somewhat similar, Zahn, *Evangelium* (note 7), 23–41.

⁹ As direct attestations for this Westcott (note 8, I, lii–lix) adduced the following texts: 'We beheld (ἑθεασάμεθα) his glory' (Jn 1:14) emphasizes a specific historical reference of an eyewitness to Christ's ministry. 'He who has seen has borne witness' (19:35) is the Evangelist's reference to his own eye-witness status while the

This is the disciple who is witnessing (ὁ μαρτυρῶν) about these things (τούτων) and the one who wrote (ὁ γράψας) these things; and we know that his witness is true.

With these words the 'disciple whom Jesus loved' (21:20) is identified (or identifies himself)¹⁰ as the author of the Fourth Gospel, for this solemn testimony could hardly be meant to refer only to Jn 21.¹¹ The plural, 'we know,' most likely refers to certain of 'the brothers' (24:23), that is, the co-workers of the beloved disciple who are active in the Johannine mission,¹² who, like Tertius (Rom 16:22), perhaps served as his amanuenses in composing the Gospel and who here identify him as the author. The present tense strongly suggests, though it does not prove, that the beloved disciple was living at the time of the publication of the Gospel.¹³ And the unity of linguistic idiom and literary design suggests that the independent contribution of the co-workers was minimal, perhaps only the clause, '(the disciple) whom Jesus loved,' and the certification (21:24).¹⁴

The beloved disciple appears earlier in the Gospel, with and without that title, and like the son of Zebedee elsewhere, he is often associated with Peter.¹⁵ Of special significance is his presence at the Last Supper (13:23). This identifies him almost certainly as one of the Twelve apostles since in the earliest sources they constitute the primary, if not the exclusive, company of Jesus at that meal.¹⁶ Among the Twelve the beloved disciple best fits John, the son of Zebedee,

plural, 'we know,' in 21:24 is the endorsement of this claim 'by those who put the work in circulation.' Cf. also B. F. Westcott, *The Gospel According to St. John* [the English text], London 1903 (1881), v-xxviii, where the argument was first made.

¹⁰ So, H. Alford, *The Greek Testament*, 4 vols., London ³1856, I, 834f.; H. A. W. Meyer, *The Gospel of John*, New York 1884 (³1868), 554; cf. Plummer (note 8), 356f. But see F. Godet, *Gospel According to St. John*, 3 vols., Edinburgh ³1896, III, 368-372; R. V. G. Tasker, *The Gospel According to St. John*, London 1960, 234ff.

¹¹ So, e.g. B. Lindars, *The Gospel of John*, Grand Rapids 1972, 641; W. Heitmüller, 'Die Johannes-Schriften,' *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 4 vols., ed. W. Bousset, Göttingen ³1918, 183f. Otherwise: C. H. Dodd, 'Note on John 21:24,' *JTS* 4 (1953), 212f.; E. C. Hoskyns and F. N. Davey, *The Fourth Gospel*, London ²1947, 560.

¹² On 'the brothers' as a name for workers in the Christian mission cf. E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids ⁴1993, 13-22; C. H. Dodd, in *The Bible Translator* 27 (1976), 310f.

¹³ The point is well made by Zahn (*Introduction*, note 7, III, 239f. = GT: II, 496f.). Cf. also Robinson (note 6), 111f.; idem, *Redating the New Testament*, Philadelphia 1976, 279f., 310.

¹⁴ Cf. Robinson (note 6), 111-118. But see Ellis (note 6), 149, 154-183.

¹⁵ Jn 13:23; 19:26, 35; 20:2; 21:7, 20; without the title but probably at Jn 1:35-40; 18:15f. With Peter cf. Jn 1:40; 13:23f.; 18:15; 20:2; 21:20f.

¹⁶ Mt 26:20; Mk 14:17; but see Lk 22:14.

who is then the John referred to by Irenaeus and by the Gospel's title. Many scholars still resist this conclusion,¹⁷ but their objections have been met, point for point, in *The Priority of John*, J. A. T. Robinson's brilliant critique of the question, which concludes 'that the man behind John's Gospel, the beloved disciple, is indeed the son of Zebedee. . . .'¹⁸

Among the objections to the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel perhaps the most important in this century have been the 'Hellenistic' contacts and influences observed in it.¹⁹ However, in some respects these alleged (Gnostic and Mandaean) influences were in texts later than and in part derivative from the Gospel. Insofar as they were contemporary with John (for example, Philonic Judaism and Stoic philosophy) they pose no obstacle to a Palestinian origin of the Evangelist. After all, Palestine had been a part of the Hellenistic world for over three centuries.²⁰ More significant for the author's Palestinian origin are his wide-ranging Semitisms,²¹ his many

¹⁷ Cf. S. S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, Nashville ³1984, 77ff. Identifying him with the Elder, not the son of Zebedee, are M. Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, London 1989, and R. Bauckham, 'Papias and Polycrates on the Origin of the Fourth Gospel,' *JTS* 44 (1993), 24–69.

¹⁸ Robinson (note 6), 122. Similarly, Brown, *John* (note 7), xcvi; Smalley (note 17), 75ff., 81f.; J. R. Michaels, *John*, San Francisco 1984, xv–xxiv; Zahn, *Evangelium* (note 7); L. Morris, *Studies in the Fourth Gospel*, Grand Rapids 1969, 139–292. Otherwise: R. H. Lightfoot, *St. John's Gospel*, Oxford 1960, 5ff.; C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel According to John*, Philadelphia ²1978, 123–134; E. Ruckstuhl 'Der Jünger den Jesus Liebt,' *SNTU* 11 (1986), 131–168 (a former Essene priest); G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John*, Waco 1987, lxvi–lxxv. Further, cf. Ellis (note 6), 145f.

¹⁹ So, for example, R. Bultmann, *Exegetica*, Tübingen 1967, 10–35, 55–104, 161–180, 230–254; idem, *The Gospel of John*, Oxford 1971, passim; more cautiously, C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1954, 10–130. Cf. C. K. Barrett, *The Gospel of John and Judaism*, London 1978.

²⁰ Cf. P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, Kampen 1992; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., London ²1974; J. A. Fitzmyer, 'The Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD,' *The Semitic Background of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids 1997, Part II, 29–56; Ellis (note 12), 125f., 245f.

²¹ Cf., among others, M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford ³1967, 272ff.; C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford 1922; C. C. Torrey, 'The Aramaic Origin of the Gospel of John,' *HTR* 16 (1923), 305–344; idem, *Our Translated Gospels*, New York 1936. Burney and Torrey argued that the Gospel was originally published in Aramaic. T. W. Manson ('The Fourth Gospel,' *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, Manchester 1962, 105–122) noted that Burney's Aramaisms were absent from 23 pericopes of the Gospel, but Adolph Schlatter's investigation had revealed Semitisms (Hebraisms) in all but four of these passages (a total of 11 verses). Cf. A. Schlatter, 'Die Sprache und Heimat der vierten Evangelisten' (1902), *Johannes und seine Evangelium* (WdF 82), ed. K. H. Rengstorff, Darmstadt 1973, 28–204. Otherwise: E. C. Colwell, *The Greek of the Fourth Gospel*, Chicago 1931.

contacts with the thought of Qumran²² and his knowledge of pre-70 Jerusalem, of Samaria, of Galilee and probably of Gaulanitis.²³ A Palestinian Jew might well know the Greek language and Hellenistic thought, but a Jew native to the diaspora would not likely reflect such close geographical knowledge of Palestine and would certainly not write Greek with the pervasive Semitic idiom observable in the Gospel of John.²⁴ But do the Semitic and other distinctive idioms represent perhaps only sources used by the Evangelist?

Whence John's Theology?

Other first-century documents disclose that the Apostle John was active for a time in the mission of the Jerusalem church and very likely participated in the apostolic task of transmitting Jesus' acts and teachings.²⁵ He and his mission circle appear to have used traditions in common with the Petrine and/or the Jacobean missions, represented respectively by the Gospels of Mark and of Matthew,²⁶ and he shares a number of traditions in common with Luke.²⁷

²² Cf. H. Braun, *Qumran und das Neue Testament*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1966, I, 96–138; II, 118–144; J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran*, London 1972; K. Stendahl, ed., *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, New York 1957, 183–207 (R. E. Brown).

²³ Cf. W. F. Albright, 'Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John,' *The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology*. FS C. H. Dodd, ed. W. D. Davies, Cambridge 1964, 153–172; Dodd (note 6), 30, 49, 50–312, passim. Briefly, for examples, cf. E. E. Ellis, *The World of St. John*, Grand Rapids ¹1996, 15; Riesner (note 2), 58–63.

²⁴ Cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Evangelist Johannes*, Stuttgart ³1960 (1930), ix: The mark of Palestinians is their bilinguality.

²⁵ Gal 2:9; Acts 1:13; 4:13, 19; 6:2ff.; 8:14. On the process of transmitting Gospel traditions in earliest Christianity cf. B. Gerhardsson, *The Origins of the Gospel Traditions*, Philadelphia 1979, 15–24, 59–65; idem, *The Tradition*, Lund 1986, 50–57; E. E. Ellis, 'Gospels Criticism,' *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher, Grand Rapids 1991, 37–47 = GT: 38–49; idem (note 6), 30–36.

²⁶ Cf. especially Jn 6:1–13, 16–21 with Mk 6:32–44 + Q (see note 50). In some features John agrees with the Q *Vorlage* of this episode more than with Mark. On Mark as the Gospel of the Petrine mission cf. Papias (cited in Eusebius, *Church History*, 3, 39, 15), who claims to get his information from the Apostle John (cf. Reicke, note 1, 161). Further, cf. Hengel (note 1), 2–6. On the cooperative transmission of the Gospel traditions within and between different apostolic circles, including Matthew's affinities with the Jacobean mission based on Jerusalem cf. Ellis (note 25), 45–54; on Matthew's linguistic affinities with the Gospel of John cf. Schlatter (note 24), x–xi. Further, cf. Ellis (note 6), 154–164, 307–319.

²⁷ Cf. J. Schniewind, *Die Parallelerikopen bei Lukas und Johannes*, Darmstadt 1958 (1914); E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ¹1996, 27. On the use of pre-formed traditions in John cf. Ellis (note 6), 154–183.

Attempts to identify discrete sources²⁸ or even proto-Gospels²⁹ behind, respectively, the 'narrative' and the 'discourse' material in John is more problematic, especially when the process of composing and publishing the Gospel of John is represented as successive 'stages' or even 'editions' by a 'Johannine school.'³⁰ Apart from their hypothetical character, such reconstructions have the problem of explaining how this process could produce such a highly unified literary and theological product. In the opinion of Adolph Schlatter, even between the Gospel and I John 'there exists an identity of linguistic usage of such degree that for me the formula, "Johannine school," becomes totally fanciful.'³¹

A few scholars have connected the composition of the Gospel with ongoing theological tensions within 'the Johannine community' (whatever that is), contrasting an earlier group with a 'higher' christology and a subsequent group with a 'lower' christology³² (or vice versa)³³ in which the final edition of the Gospel provides for the two perspectives a combination or synthesis. This Hegelian approach is not new. Indeed, it was advanced 150 years ago by F. C. Baur³⁴ and has been promulgated ever since, in one form or another, by his

²⁸ For example, Bultmann, *John* (note 19), 6f. (W. Schmithals).

²⁹ Cf. R. T. Fortna, *The Gospel of Signs: A Reconstruction of the Narrative Source Underlying the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1970; idem, *The Fourth Gospel and Its Predecessor*, Philadelphia 1988. For critiques of this approach cf. R. Kysar, *The Fourth Evangelist and His Gospel*, Minneapolis 1975, 33-37; D. A. Carson, 'Source Criticism of the Fourth Gospel,' *JBL* 97 (1978), 411-429; idem, 'The Purpose of the Fourth Gospel,' *JBL* 106 (1987), 649. Cf. Ellis (note 6), 147-150.

³⁰ See the discussion in Smalley (note 17), 102.

³¹ Schlatter (note 24), x. But see O. Cullmann, *The Johannine Circle*, London 1976, 1-11. In this respect one observes a clear tension, if not a certain contradiction, between the structuralist approach of R. A. Culpepper's *The Anatomy of the Fourth Gospel* (Philadelphia 1983), evidencing the Gospel's literary unity, and aspects of his earlier work, *The Johannine School*, Missoula MT 1975, e.g., 266, 274.

³² For example, E. Haenchen, *John*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1984, 77f., 94-97.

³³ Cf. G. Richter, 'Präsentische und futurische Eschatologie im 4. Evangelium,' *Gegenwart und kommendes Reich*, ed. P. Fiedler, Stuttgart 1975, 117-152, summarized in Brown, *Community* (note 7), 174ff. While Brown rejects an intracommunity conflict (28) and mutes the dialectic (51f.), he nonetheless interprets the Gospel as a synthesis of earlier disparate christological views (52).

³⁴ For example, F. C. Baur, *Die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, 314-318; idem, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 2 vols., London 1878, 178: In John the 'Jewish-Christian and the Pauline doctrine are here blended together in a higher unity.' Baur (*Das Markusevangelium*, Tübingen 1851, 150-152) viewed Mark somewhat similarly as a combination of Matthew and Luke. Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament. The History of the Investigation of Its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 137ff.; K. Barth, *Protestant Theology in the Nineteenth Century*, London 1972, 504f.

theological heirs. However, for a number of reasons it does not inspire confidence. (1) Its hypothetical theologies of hypothetical sources reach with excessive imagination beyond any reasonable historical reconstruction.³⁵ (2) It imposes on the literature a (Hegelian) dialectic that is based more on a philosophical model than on historical criticism and, anachronistically, (3) it appears to read later christological disputes back behind the formation of the Gospel of John. While New Testament documents do at times counter theological aberrations, a dialectical approach tends to exaggerate this factor, often assuming that a hostile Indian is lurking behind every tree in the New Testament forest. In any case the formulation of John's christology has a much better explanation, as we hope to show below.

JESUS: GOD AND MAN

The 'history of religions' school supposed that Jesus was first regarded, in Palestinian Christianity, as a human Messiah and only later, after the church moved into the pagan diaspora, was he confessed to be God.³⁶ With the refutation of that thesis,³⁷ the question remains: What was the adequate and most probable cause for the Jewish followers of Jesus of Nazareth – and most explicitly the Apostle John – to recognize him not only as their Messiah but also as God himself? Was it a gradually growing apprehension over a generation or the immediate explosive response to his bodily resurrection from the dead and their encounter with him as an immortal glorified being?

For rationalist scholarship the latter is not an option since its closed worldview precludes a resurrection of a man from death; for this, if for no other reason, psychological or other naturalistic explanations have to be incessantly pursued. But for Christian theists it will be a most probable option and perhaps the only convincing historical explanation for the sudden shift in attitude among the earliest followers of Jesus. It is, in fact, the option that the Gospel of John offers (20:28). It would, of course, have inevitably taken time for a

³⁵ Cf. C. K. Barrett, *Essays on John*, London 1982, 76.

³⁶ Cf. W. Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, Nashville 1970 (²1921), 205–210, *passim*.

³⁷ For example, J. G. Machen, *The Origin of Paul's Religion*, New York 1921; M. Hengel, *The Son of God*, London 1976. Cf. C. Colpe, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Schule*, Göttingen 1961.

conviction that Jesus was Yahweh to be theologically formulated and biblically expounded. But the earliest Christian literature suggests that it did not take very long, perhaps because Jesus himself in his earthly acts and teachings had already prepared the way.

Paul

From the resurrection of Jesus onward there is no stage of early Christian history known to us in which the (implicit or explicit) confession of Jesus as God is absent.³⁸ Within 25 years of the resurrection we find the earliest literary witness, the Apostle Paul, speaking of Jesus as the creator of the universe and a few times calling him God.³⁹ In one text he cites a preformed traditional confession of *Christus Creator* that must date from even an earlier time:⁴⁰

For us there is one God the Father
From whom are all things and we for him
And one Lord Jesus Christ
Through whom are all things and we through him.'

Elsewhere Paul can call Christ the divine Wisdom, the divine Spirit and the image of God.⁴¹ He freely applies to Jesus Old Testament texts that refer to Yahweh⁴² and uses triadic formulas that are raw materials for the later definition of the Trinity.⁴³ Also carrying divine

³⁸ It is also probably not absent in formulations of the traditions in Acts 2-3. Along with the human messianic ascriptions given to Jesus here, the prophecy that Yahweh will pour out his Spirit is later said to be the act of Jesus, who has received 'the Holy Spirit' from 'the Father' (Joel 2:28; Acts 2:17, 33). The unity-cum-distinction of Jesus with Yahweh is implicit, as it is in other passages in which Old Testament Yahweh texts are applied to Jesus. This factor is overlooked in J. A. T. Robinson's 'The Most Primitive Christology of All?' *Twelve New Testament Studies*, London ³1984, 139-153 = *JTS* 7, 1956, 177-189. J. D. G. Dunn (*Christology in the Making*, Philadelphia 1980, 142) recognized that in Acts 2:33 Christ 'began to share in God's prerogative as the giver of the Spirit,' but he apparently did not see the ontological implications.

³⁹ Col 1:15ff.; Rom 9:5; II Thess 1:12; Tit 2:13; cf. Col 2:9; C. E. B. Cranfield, *Romans*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1979, II, 464-470; P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, Waco 1982, 32-47; but see G. E. Cannon, *The Use of Traditional Materials in Colossians*, Macon 1983, 19-37.

⁴⁰ I Cor 8:6; cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Traditions in 1 Corinthians,' *NTS* 32 (1986), 494f.; idem (note 6), 87-90.

⁴¹ I Cor 1:24; Col 2:2f.; II Cor 3:17; 4:4.

⁴² Rom 10:9, 13 (Joel 2:32); I Cor 2:16 (Isa 40:13); II Cor 3:14-17 (Exod 34:34); Phil 2:9ff. (Isa 45:23f.). Cf. D. B. Capes, *Old Testament Yahweh Texts in Paul's Christology*, Tübingen 1992.

⁴³ I Cor 12:4ff.; II Cor 13:14.

connotations is Paul's regular title for Jesus, 'Lord' (κύριος), the Greek Old Testament's translation of Yahweh.⁴⁴

Paul makes these astounding statements while asserting, quite as firmly, that Jesus is the Messiah, 'the seed of David,' 'the second man,' 'born from a woman, born under the Law.'⁴⁵ In calling Jesus the Messiah, Paul says no more, of course, than Peter's confession during the earthly ministry of Jesus⁴⁶ although after the resurrection both he and Peter used the title with a much deeper apprehension of its meaning. But in identifying the man Jesus with Yahweh and with the Spirit, while at the same time distinguishing him from both, Paul has made an enormous leap, some would say for a Jew an impossible leap. What could possibly have caused it?

In *The Origin of Paul's Gospel* the Korean scholar, Seyoon Kim, has offered a thoroughly-grounded and to my mind quite probable thesis that Paul first identified Christ with Yahweh, that is, with 'the image of God,' at his encounter with the exalted Jesus on the Damascus road.⁴⁷ I would add: that encounter as it was informed by Jewish tradition, by a christological reinterpretation of Scripture and by traditions of Jesus' teachings.⁴⁸ In the light of the Pauline and other evidence Martin Hengel is fully justified in his conclusion that

the 'apotheosis of the crucified Jesus' must already have taken place in the forties, and one is tempted to say *that more happened in this period of less than two decades than in the whole of the next seven centuries*. . . .⁴⁹

The Synoptic Gospels

The Synoptics also display a twofold perspective on the person of Jesus, divine and human. At his baptism and transfiguration human, messianic ascriptions are given to him, probably the royal Messiah, the suffering Servant and (at the transfiguration) the Prophet like Moses.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Cf. Fitzmyer, 'The Semitic Background of the New Testament *Kyrios*-Title' (note 20), Part II, 115-142. Like the English title, Lord, κύριος and the Aramaic ܠܕܝܢ could be used for a human authority as well as for deity. Cf. 1QGenApoc 2:4 with 2:9, 13; 20:15 with 20:25; G. Vermes, *Jesus the Jew*, London ²1977, 103-128.

⁴⁵ Rom 1:3; I Cor 15:47; Gal 4:4.

⁴⁶ Mt 16:16 parr.

⁴⁷ Acts 9:3-9 = 22:6-16 = 26:12-18. Cf. S. Kim, *The Origin of Paul's Gospel*, Tübingen ²1984, 137-268.

⁴⁸ On Paul's knowledge of Jesus traditions cf. Ellis (note 6), 70-77; see above, 31-37.

⁴⁹ Hengel (note 37), 2.

⁵⁰ Mk 3:11 + Q; Mk 9:7 + Q (judging from the agreements of Matthew and

'You are my beloved son, in you I am well pleased.'
 'This is my son, the chosen one; hear him.'

Each of these designations is included in John's presentation of Jesus although they appear in different contexts.⁵¹ At the same time in the Synoptic Gospels the title, the Son, is also used in the absolute sense, as it is in the Gospel of John, as a divine ascription, that is, Jesus' exclusive and reciprocal knowledge of God the Father.⁵²

The title 'Son of Man,' the favorite of Jesus and under which other designations appear to be subsumed, likewise exhibits human and divine connotations. On the one hand it is used to define and interpret various titles (Son of God, Messiah, Servant)⁵³ or to express the role of the Isaianic Servant.⁵⁴ On the other hand it occurs at least twice, in Jesus' apocalyptic discourse and at his trial, with reference to Dan 7:13f. where divine connotations appear to be present.⁵⁵ The question depends in part on whether in Jesus' usage the figure 'like a son of man' in Dan 7:13f. is to be connected with Ps 8:4ff. and, in turn, with Gen 1:28⁵⁶ or whether it is to be connected with Ezek 1:26ff. and Gen 1:26f., that is, with the figure on a throne in heaven 'like the appearance of a man . . . that is the appearance

Luke against Mark in these episodes); cf. Ps 2:7; Isa 42:1; 44:1f.; Deut 18:15, 18; the discussion of I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, Exeter 1978, 154-157, 388. Cf. Lk 7:39 B; Ellis (note 6), Appendix I, 346f.

⁵¹ Jn 1:49 (Ps 2:7); 1:29 (Isa 53:6f.); 1:21 (Deut 18:15); cf. Jn 5:46; 6:14; 7:40; 3:14; 12:38.

⁵² Lk 10:22 = Mt 11:27; cf. Mk 13:32; 12:6 + Q (see above, note 50).

⁵³ For example, Mk 8:29ff. + Q; 14:61f. + Q (see above, note 50); Mk 10:45 par; Lk 22:21, 37.

⁵⁴ Cf. J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, London 1971, 295f.; S. Kim, *The Son of Man as the Son of God*, Tübingen 1983, 38-73 (Mk 10:45; 14:21 par; Jn 6:53; 13:31): '[Jesus] understood that he was to fulfill this mission as "the 'Son of Man,'" by carrying out the functions of the Ebed Yahweh prophesied in Isa 42-61 . . .' (73). Further, cf. W. Grimm, *Die Verkündigung Jesu und Deuterojesaja*, Frankfurt ²1981, 209-222 (Mk 8:31 par; 9:31 par), 231-277 (Mk 10:45); O. Betz, *Jesus und das Danielbuch. Band II*, Frankfurt 1985, 108-111 (Mk 9:2-9 + Q, see above, note 50).

⁵⁵ Mk 13:26 par; 14:62 par; cf. Mt 25:31. See above, Chapter III, 43f. I forego references to the Son of Man in I Enoch 37-71 ('the Parables') since it is uncertain whether its origin is pre-Christian (cf. Caragounis) or, more likely, post-Christian and dependent on the Gospels or on Jesus-traditions (Milik, cf. Knibb). Cf. C. C. Caragounis, *The Son of Man*, Tübingen 1986, 85-94; J. T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, Oxford 1976, 91-98; M. A. Knibb, 'The Date of the Parables of Enoch,' *NTS* 25 (1979), 345-359, 358f.

⁵⁶ The verbal links lie in the terms, 'dominion' and (in Dan 7:13f. and Ps 8:4ff.) 'glory' and 'Son of Man.' In I Cor 15 Paul uses Ps 8:6 (15:27) and Gen 2:7 (15:45, 47) in identifying Christ as 'the eschatological Adam' and 'the second man.' I formerly inclined toward this view of Dan 7:13f. (cf. Ellis, note 12, 167).

of the likeness of the glory of Yahweh' (Ezek 1:26ff).⁵⁷ If the former, the Danielic Son of Man could be understood as a human figure, the (royal messianic) representative or manifestation of 'the people of the saints of the Most High' (Dan 7:27). If the latter, he could be understood to be Yahweh himself or a hypostatization of Yahweh.⁵⁸ If he is connected with both Ezek 1 and Ps 8, the Son of Man in Dan 7:13f. could be understood as a divine-human figure.

If Dan 7:13f. is the key to understand Jesus' use of the title, Son of Man, what was his understanding of Dan 7? His trial-scene seems to provide the best insight into the matter:

'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed?' Jesus said, 'I am, and you will see the Son of Man seated at the right hand of Power (Ps 110:1) and coming with the clouds of heaven' (Dan 7:13). And the high priest [said], . . . 'You have heard his blasphemy. . . .'

Mk 14:61f.

As elsewhere, Jesus interprets his messiahship in terms of the Son of Man, the Danielic Son of Man.⁵⁹ Since a messianic claim was not considered blasphemous, Jesus' appropriation of the figure in Dan 7:13f. apparently was a ground for the charge of blasphemy and presupposed that the Danielic figure was understood to have the status or being of Yahweh.

Earlier Jesus' claim, as the Son of Man, to forgive sins in his own name had also evoked from the theologians a suspicion of blasphemy, and on their assumptions the suspicion was fully justified since he made claims that only God could rightly make.⁶⁰ Interestingly, during his earthly ministry it was the religious opponents of Jesus who suspected a veiled claim to deity in his words; the disciples grasped it only after his resurrection. But even the disciples stood in awe of one who by a word and on his own warrant controlled the natural

⁵⁷ The verbal links lie in the terms 'glory,' 'throne,' 'cloud' and 'like . . . a man.'

⁵⁸ Cf. Caragounis (note 55), 61-81 and the literature cited; C. Rowland, *The Open Heaven*, London ²1985, 95-101; Kim (note 54), 15-19; M. Black, 'The Throne-Theophany Prophetic Commission and the "Son of Man."' *Jews, Greeks and Christians*. FS W. D. Davies, ed. R. Hamerton-Kelly, Leiden 1976, 57-73, 62: 'What "Daniel [7:27] was contemplating was nothing less than the *apotheosis* of Israel in the end-time.'

⁵⁹ See above, notes 53, 54; Chapter III, pp. 43-51. Mk 14:61f. + Q (see note 50) is, of course, a summary, but it sets out with clarity the biblical essence of Jesus' response.

⁶⁰ Mk 2:1-12, 6f. + Q (see above, note 50); cf. Lk 7:36-50; Jn 5:14; 10:33; 20:22f.

order⁶¹ and created matter⁶² and life.⁶³ Jesus was doing acts that in the biblical faith of Israel could rightly be ascribed only to God.⁶⁴ Since D. F. Strauss some scholars have mythologized these accounts, but it is important to note that they do so not on literary-historical but on confessional grounds, that is, the philosophical dogma that such miracles are by definition impossible.⁶⁵

Of Jesus' veiled allusions to his deity perhaps the most remarkable is his claim to raise himself from the dead.⁶⁶

We heard him saying
I shall destroy this temple (ναόν)
Made with hands (χειροποίητον)
And in three days shall build another
Not made with hands (ἀχειροποίητον).

Matthew and Mark imply that Jesus' words are here misused by the false witnesses but, as Jesus' silence shows, they do not regard the words as fictitious. And Mark, at least, knows that Jesus was referring to his body as 'this temple.'⁶⁷ He shows this by his interpretive parenthetical additions, 'made with hands' and 'not made with hands,' for these idioms were employed in circles within which Mark worked to contrast the present creation (or age) with the new creation begun with the death and resurrection of Jesus.⁶⁸ Mark here pictures Jesus as the sovereign master of his fate and captain of his soul, a feature usually associated with the Gospel of John. Indeed, Jn 2:18-22 gives the clearest interpretation of the original incident:

'What sign do you show us . . .?' Jesus said, 'Destroy this temple and in three days I will raise it up. . . .' But he was speaking concerning the temple of his body. Therefore, when he arose from among the dead ones, his disciples remembered that he had said this and they believed. . . .

⁶¹ Mk 4:35-41 + Q (see above, note 50); Mt 14:22f. parr + Jn 6:15-21. See also Mk 11:12ff., 20f. par.

⁶² Mk 6:32-44 + Q (see above, note 50) + Jn 6:1-15. Cf. Jn 2:1-11.

⁶³ Mk 5:21-43 + Q (see above, note 50); Lk 7:11-17; Jn 11:1-46.

⁶⁴ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *New Bible Dictionary*, ed. J. D. Douglas, Leicester ²1982, 697-701 = *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 3 vols., ed. N. Hillyer, Leicester 1980, II, 901-904.

⁶⁵ Cf. D. F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus Critically Examined*, Philadelphia 1972 (¹1840); R. Bultmann, *Existence and Faith*, New York 1960, 292.

⁶⁶ Mk 14:58 = Mt 26:61. In this episode Greek Matthew (26:57-68) apparently used, in addition to Mark, a Q source that in some respects is more primitive. Cf. Mt 12:39f. (? Q). See above, Chapters I and III, 3-19, 38-51.

⁶⁷ Cf. Mk 14:58; 15:29, 32; B. Lindars, *Jesus Son of Man*, London 1983, 71f.

⁶⁸ II Cor 5:1; Col 2:11; cf. Acts 7:48 with 17:24; Heb 9:11, 24.

The Gospel of John

The presentation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel⁶⁹ clearly differs from the Synoptics, but is it a difference of degree or of kind? 'In the beginning was the prologue' and, whenever it was formulated in the composition of the Gospel, it sets the christological theme. It does so in terms of the Old Testament and in terms of Jesus as God and man.⁷⁰ The prologue describes the broader sweep of the story of Jesus in a three-step progression, beginning with the pre-existent Word, who was God (1:1),⁷¹ proceeding to the incarnate Word, who is Jesus the Messiah (1:14, 17) and concluding with the designation of the (resurrected) God-man as 'the only-begotten God who is in the bosom of the Father' (1:18). The body of the Gospel reflects a twofold perspective in which the Evangelist appears to oscillate between messianic and 'deity' ascriptions.

For example, at the beginning the messianic confessions of the Baptist and of Nathanael (1:29, 34, 36, 49) are coupled to the prophecy of the exalted Son of Man (1:51); at the close Thomas' confession of Jesus as God (20:28) is joined to the concluding exhortation 'that you may believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God' (20:31).⁷² In this respect the organization of the Gospel has certain similarities with the Gospel of Luke where the (divine/human) christology that is elaborated in Lk 3–24 has already been presented *in nuce* in Lk 1–2.⁷³ The organization of Matthew's Gospel is similar.

⁶⁹ Cf. D. Moody Smith, 'The Presentation of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel,' *Johannine Christianity*, Columbia SC 1984, 175–189 = *Int* 31 (1977), 367–378, although I doubt that the contrast with the Synoptics is quite so great as Smith sometimes suggests. For a survey of the literature cf. J. Becker in *TR* 47 (1982), 332–344; 51 (1986), 72–77; S. S. Smalley in *ET* 97 (1985–86), 107f.; idem (note 17), 210–219; I. H. Marshall, 'Johannine Theology,' *ISBE*² II (1982), 1081–1091.

⁷⁰ Dodd (note 19, 274–285) finds the background of the Johannine Logos or 'Word' (Jn 1:1) primarily in the Old Testament wisdom, 'the hypostatized thought of God' (275), as that is expressed in Philonic Judaism: A 'Logos-doctrine similar to that of Philo is present all through the gospel...' (279). Cf. J. R. Harris, *The Origin of the Prologue to St. John's Gospel*, Cambridge 1917, 3–24.

⁷¹ The absence of the article before θεός (= God; not θεῖος = 'divine') stresses a qualitative identity while maintaining a numerical distinction from God the Father.

⁷² Or perhaps Jn 20:31 combines human and divine titles. On 'Jesus the Man' cf. L. Morris, *Jesus is the Christ: Studies in the Theology of John*, Grand Rapids 1989, 43–67, a critique of E. Käsemann. *The Testament of Jesus*, London 1968, who argued that John presents a docetic Jesus.

⁷³ In Luke the messianic Son of God and seed of David (1:32) is none other than the divine Son (1:35); the savior who is Messiah Yahweh (χριστός κύριος, 2:11) is none other than Yahweh's Messiah (2:26). Cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the*

The prologue is probably best understood as an elaborated exposition of Gen 1:1–5⁷⁴ and, if so, it agrees with the Evangelist's practice elsewhere of interpreting the person of Jesus in terms of Scripture. Thus, by Old Testament citations Jesus is identified with the rejected Servant of the Lord,⁷⁵ the Pascal Lamb,⁷⁶ the humble⁷⁷ and suffering messianic King,⁷⁸ and also with Yahweh.⁷⁹

They shall look on him whom they pierced.

The perceptive hearer or reader would recognize here a veiled reference to God, personally present in the messianic king, as the rejected and coming savior of Israel.⁸⁰ The reworked synagogue exposition (midrash) at Jn 6:22–58 similarly contrasts the manna given by Moses with the manna yielding everlasting life that Jesus, the Son of Man from heaven, will give.⁸¹

Titles for Jesus involving the term 'Son' are the most numerous, the most complex and the most significant for understanding John's christology. 'Son of God' can be used, as it is in the Synoptics, either for Jesus' messianic kingship⁸² or for his preexistent divine nature.⁸³ Used in the latter sense, it is equivalent to God and evokes from the Jewish churchmen a charge of blasphemy not unlike that in the Synoptics.⁸⁴ Yet, John tells us, this is who Jesus really was (and is),

New Testament, London ²1963, 285–287; Ellis (note 27), 74, 263f.; W. Grundmann, 'χρίω,' *TDNT* 9 (1974), 533n. Cf. also Mt 1:23 with 2:6.

⁷⁴ So, P. Borgen, 'Observations on the Targumic Character of the Prologue of John,' *Logos was the True Light*, Trondheim 1983, 13–20 = *NTS* 16 (1970) 288–295.

⁷⁵ Jn 12:38 (Isa 53:1); cf. 1:29–36.

⁷⁶ Jn 19:36 (Exod 12:46); cf. 1:29–36. But see L. Morris, *Reflections on the Gospel of John I*, Grand Rapids 1986, 34–42.

⁷⁷ Jn 12:15 (Zech 9:9).

⁷⁸ Jn 13:18 (Ps 41:9); 15:25 (Ps 35:19); 19:24 (Ps 22:18); cf. 17:12 (Ps 41:9). Cf. S. Mowinckel, *He That Cometh*, Oxford 1959, 21–124; D. Kidner, *Psalms*, 2 vols., London 1975, I, 18–25; A. Bentzen, *King and Messiah*, Oxford 1970, 35–38.

⁷⁹ Jn 19:37 (Zech 12:10); cf. 12:13 (Zeph 3:15).

⁸⁰ On the coming of Yahweh in Old Testament expectation cf. Mowinckel (note 78), 144–149.

⁸¹ Exod 16:4, 15; Jn 6:38, 51, 53, 58. Cf. Ellis (note 6), 175f.; similar, but on Jn 6:31–58, Borgen (note 74), 21–46; idem, *Bread from Heaven*, Leiden 1965, passim.

⁸² Jn 1:49; 11:27; 20:31. See above, note 50. On the various titles in John cf. Smalley (note 17), 210–219; R. Summers, 'The Christ of John's Gospel,' *SWJT* 8 (1965), 35–43.

⁸³ Cf. Jn 10:33–39, 36. See above, note 73.

⁸⁴ Jn 10:33–36; cf. 5:18; 19:7; Mk 2:7 + Q (see note 50); 14:64. For John, as for Paul (I Thess 2:14) and Luke (e.g. Acts 17:33), the opposing Jewish leadership could be called simply 'the Jews.' The term 'Jews' was apparently like the term

and it is this Evangelist's special gift to depict clearly 'Jesus as the representative of the world above [who] visits and really lives in this world without depriving it of its verisimilitude and without depriving life here of its seriousness.'⁸⁵

The absolute use of 'the Son' stresses both the unity of Jesus with God the Father and also his filial subordination to him. The Son is 'from the Father' and is one with the Father, is loved by the Father and is to be honored like the Father.⁸⁶ No less than the Father, the Son has autonomous life, gives everlasting life and will raise the dead at the last day.⁸⁷ At the same time the Son is sent by God, is lesser than the Father, does only what the Father does and accomplishes his work.⁸⁸ The Gospel of John has a strong note of subordination in its christology, expressed within the filial bond of Father and Son.⁸⁹ It is a subordination of role, not of nature.

'Son of Man,' a title appearing only thirteen times in the Gospel, has a decisive role in the presentation of the person of Jesus. Unlike the Synoptics, the term refers expressly to Jesus' pre-existence⁹⁰ and perhaps makes a stronger allusion to his corporate person, but it is otherwise not essentially different from the usage of the other Gospels.⁹¹ As he does in the Synoptics, Jesus in the Fourth Gospel uses Son of Man for (1) his present ministry,⁹² (2) his role as judge at the last day⁹³ and, especially, (3) his death and resurrection:

The Son of Man must be lifted up.⁹⁴
Now is the Son of Man glorified.⁹⁵

'Yankees.' For outsiders it designated the whole ethnic group just as Yankees often designates all Americans, but within Judaism (as 'Yankees' among Americans) the term could refer to a part of the group, sometimes with uncomplimentary connotations.

⁸⁵ Smith (note 69), 187f.

⁸⁶ Jn 16:28; 10:30; 3:35; 5:20, 23f.

⁸⁷ Jn 5:26; 6:27, 40.

⁸⁸ Jn 4:34; 5:26; 8:28f.; 14:28, 31; 5:19; 17:4. Cf. A. W. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament*, London, 1977, 191-195.

⁸⁹ Cf. R. Scroggs, *Christology in Paul and John*, Philadelphia 1988, 67-72.

⁹⁰ Jn 3:13; 6:62; but cf. 3:16f.; 16:28 where it is the 'Son of God' who descends from heaven and returns to it. On the descent/ascent theme in John cf. G. C. Nicholson, *Death as Departure*, Chico CA 1983.

⁹¹ So, Smalley (note 17), 213f.; R. Maddox, 'The Function of the Son of Man in the Gospel of John,' *Reconciliation and Hope. FS L. L. Morris*, ed. R. Banks, Exeter 1974, 186-204, 203.

⁹² Jn 9:35.

⁹³ Jn 5:22, 27-29; cf. 6:39f., 44 with 6:27, 53.

⁹⁴ Jn 3:14; 8:28; 12:32ff.

⁹⁵ Jn 13:31; cf. 12:23.

The term, 'lifted up' (ὑψοῦν), carries in it both the implication of death by crucifixion and of exaltation to heaven and is probably the original form of Jesus' veiled (public) prediction of his death.⁹⁶ It does not have a docetic connotation for, although John does not speak of Jesus 'suffering' (πάσχειν), he clearly states that Jesus was to die and was dead.⁹⁷

The most graphic description of the significance of the death of the Son of Man is Jesus' word that God the Father 'sealed' the Son of Man to give and to be the food for everlasting life.⁹⁸

Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man
And drink his blood
You do not have life in yourselves
The one who chews my flesh and drinks my blood
Has everlasting life
And I will raise him up at the last day.

Jn 6:53f.

This passage may be John's elaboration of Jesus' words as the Last Supper, used as clarifying commentary in Jesus' 'manna sermon' at Capernaum.⁹⁹ The saying here becomes the basis for the presentation of his person later as the inclusive entity, the living vine, who by the Spirit will come to them and be 'in them,' the one into whom his followers are to be incorporated by faith.¹⁰⁰

THE CORPORATE SON OF MAN

On several occasions during his ministry Jesus taught that his followers were in some sense intimately associated with his own person. He identified himself especially with those who were to be the bearers of his message:

⁹⁶ Jn 12:33f. ('crowd'). The Synoptic formulation (Mk 8:29ff. + Q; Lk 9:44f.) probably represents a clarification, either given by Jesus to his disciples privately or a post-resurrection revelation of the true meaning of 'lifted up.'

⁹⁷ Jn 12:33; 19:33; cf. 19:34-37; 20:27.

⁹⁸ Jn 6:27, 53; cf. Ps 78:24f.

⁹⁹ Jn 6:22-58 (Exod 16:4, 15; Ps 78:24f.). Cf. Mk 14:22ff. parr; I Cor 11:23ff. In the Johannine discourses it is difficult if not impossible to say where the words of the earthly Jesus end and John's elaboration begins. If one accepts the Gospel as the work of an apostle/prophet who has 'the mind of Christ' (I Cor 2:16), his elaboration is no less authentic words of Jesus than a precise reproduction of their preresurrection form.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. Jn 6:63f.; 14:17f.; 15:1, 4. See above, 36f.; below, 126f., 139-157.

The one who hears you hears me
The one who rejects you rejects me.¹⁰¹

Inasmuch as you did it
To one of the least of these, my brothers
You did it to me.¹⁰²

The one who receives whomever I send,
Receives me.¹⁰³

Jesus further clarified the bond between himself and his disciples in his exposition (midrash) on Isa 5,¹⁰⁴ in his temple saying¹⁰⁵ and in his words at the Last Supper. (1) In the exposition he identifies himself typologically both with the cornerstone in God's eschatological temple and (in Q) with the massive stone in Daniel that 'filled the whole earth' and is the kingdom of God.¹⁰⁶ (2) He identifies the temple that he will raise up first of all with his own individual resurrected body. But (3) by the distribution of the bread at the Last Supper he also identifies his disciples with his body and, according to John (15:1f.), in the after-supper discourses he returns to an exposition of the allegory of the vineyard in which he is the vine and his disciples are the branches.

From this background, and particularly from Jesus' words at the Last Supper,¹⁰⁷ there arose especially in the Petrine, Pauline and Johannine missions a rich and deep perception of Christ as one who incorporates his people into himself as his body and as the new temple. For Paul it involved an understanding of the church as 'the temple of God'¹⁰⁸ and the 'body of Christ'¹⁰⁹ and of individual believers

¹⁰¹ Lk 10:16; cf. Mt 10:40; Mk 9:41.

¹⁰² Mt 25:40.

¹⁰³ Jn 13:20.

¹⁰⁴ That is, the parable of the wicked husbandmen: Mk 12:1-12 + Q (see note 50); Isa 5:1f.; cf. Ps 80:8f. See above, 56ff.

¹⁰⁵ Jn 2:18-22. See above, 58-61.

¹⁰⁶ Ps 118:22; Dan 2:34f., 44f. Cf. Mt 21:44.

¹⁰⁷ Rightly, A. E. J. Rawlinson, 'Corpus Christi,' *Mysterium Christi*, ed. G. K. A. Bell, London 1930, 241f.: Paul's understanding of the corporate Christ has its 'primary roots' in Jesus' teachings at the Last Supper.

¹⁰⁸ For example, I Cor 3:16; cf. I Pet 2:4-10. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids ⁵1991 (1957), 88-92; idem (note 40), 487-490; idem (note 6), 72-77.

¹⁰⁹ For example, I Cor 12:27. See S. W. Son cited above, 48n. Cf. C. F. D. Moule, 'The Corporate Christ,' *The Origin of Christology*, Cambridge ²1978, 47-96; R. P. Shedd, *Man in Community*, London 1958, 157-177. On the background of the research cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids ⁵1979 (1961), 24f. One can agree with A. Schweitzer (*The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, London ²1953, 127) that the corporate Christ or what he calls the 'mystical body of Christ'

as those who live 'in Christ' and Christ 'in them.'¹¹⁰ For Luke also the corporate Christ is presupposed in the words of the Lord to Paul at Acts 9:4: 'Why do you persecute me?'¹¹¹ John represents the individual believer as living or 'abiding' in Christ and Christ in him,¹¹² and he employs these expressions within the framework of the corporate Son of Man.

According to C. H. Dodd 'the term "Son of Man" throughout this gospel [of John] retains the sense of one who incorporates in Himself the people of God. . . .'¹¹³ In any case the Son of Man exhibits clear corporate connotations in at least two passages: the manna sermon in Jn 6. which has been discussed above, and the imagery of the angels 'ascending and descending upon the Son of Man' at Jn 1:51. This passage appears to allude to a targumic rendering of Gen 28:12.¹¹⁴

Come and see a just man [Jacob]
Whose image is engraved in the throne of glory . . .
And . . . the angels . . . were ascending and descending
And observed him.

By a typological identification, what is envisioned of an enthroned 'Jacob,' the patriarch who incorporates the nation in himself, is to be fulfilled in the exalted Son of Man who incorporates the true 'Israel' in himself. Supporting this interpretation is the context, in which Nathanael has just confessed Jesus to be 'the king of Israel,' and a number of other considerations that cannot be explored here.¹¹⁵

is 'for Paul not a pictorial expression . . . but an actual entity.' But, *pace* Schweitzer, in my judgment it is not a sacramentalism, nor is John's 'doctrine of redemption through being-in-the-Logos-Christ' a 'hellenistic conception' (349).

¹¹⁰ For example, Rom 8:1, 10. Cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, Marburg 1892; J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, New York 1965, 247-260.

¹¹¹ Cf. Lk 20:38 (αὐτῷ); 23:43 (μετ' ἐμοῦ); see below, 105-128.

¹¹² For example, Jn 6:56; 15:4, 7; cf. I Jn 2:28; 4:13ff.; 5:11f. Cf. S. S. Smalley, 'The Christ-Christian Relationship in Paul and John,' *Pauline Studies*, ed. D. A. Hagner, Exeter 1980, 95-105; T. E. Pollard, 'The Father-Son and God-Believer Relationships According to St. John,' *L'Evangile de Jean*, ed. M. de Jonge, Gembloux ²1987, 363-369; Brown, *John* (note 7), I, 510-512. But see A. Feuillet, 'Participation in the Life of God,' *Johannine Studies*, New York ²1966, 169-180.

¹¹³ Dodd (note 19), 248. However, I doubt the associations with the Hellenistic 'heavenly man' that Dodd sees in the concept. Cf. C. Colpe, 'ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου,' *TDNT* 8 (1972), 408-415.

¹¹⁴ *Targum Neofiti I: Genesis*, ed. A. Diez Macho, Madrid 1968, 572.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Jn 4:12ff.; Dodd (note 19), 244ff.; Kim (note 54), 82-86.

CONCLUSION

During the earthly ministry of Jesus his followers' view of his person scarcely went beyond the anticipation that he was the Messiah, the one who would redeem Israel.¹¹⁶ Only among the apostles, the ones who were granted a meeting with and commission by the risen Jesus, did the realization become immediately apparent that the Messiah Jesus, the savior of the nation, was also the manifestation of Yahweh himself and that his followers were corporately identified with his death and resurrection and with his person. It was left to the apostles to make these truths apparent to the infant congregations of the postresurrection church. In the case of the Apostle John it was done by telling the story of Jesus' earthly ministry in a way that, without sacrificing the truth of Jesus' humanity and his individuality, would let those 'deity' and corporate aspects of his acts and teachings and person be understood by the audiences in the Jewish-Christian synagogues of John's pre-AD 66 mission in Palestine.¹¹⁷

If the above observations are valid, the conclusion follows that the christology of the Synoptic Gospels and of the Jesus-traditions behind them is not as far removed from the christology of John as is usually supposed. In John the deity-claims of Jesus may be somewhat more explicit, the corporate dimension of his person more pronounced and his subordination to the Father more accented. But these are differences of degree and not of kind. The major contribution to New Testament christology of John vis-à-vis the other Gospels is apparently to bring to the surface perspectives on Jesus' person that in the Synoptics are only implicit or left for the reader to infer.

¹¹⁶ Lk 24:21.

¹¹⁷ J. L. Martyn (*History and Theology in the Fourth Gospel*, Nashville ²1979) is doubtless correct in pointing to the needs in the churches as shaping John's presentation, but his view of postresurrection perspectives and elaborations in John seems to me to be excessive, and what he puts at the end of the first century I would think belongs largely to AD 35–60. Cf. Ellis (note 6), 233f.; Robinson (note 6), 28–35, 67–92; idem (note 13), 307–311.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΣ IN I COR 10:4, 9

The use of Χριστός at I Cor 10:4, 9 raises a number of theological issues, among which are the term's personal or titular connotation and its theological implications for Christ's pre-existence and for his identification with the divine attribute of wisdom. Usually in Paul's writings 'Christ' refers to the person.¹ Even when titular connotations are prominent as at Rom 9:5, the qualified form, Χριστός κατὰ σάρκα, shows that the term carried broader implications. So also at I Cor 10:4, 9 it is not limited in its meaning to the eschatological figure 'from the seed of David' (Rom 1:3) but refers inclusively to the person of Jesus whether in his eschatological or, as we hope to show, in his pre-existent being. But does not the typological context of I Cor 10 preclude a reference to a pre-existent person?²

THE PRE-EXISTENT CHRIST

I Cor 10:1–13 is a midrash on certain Pentateuchal texts that is probably preformed³ and that is here applied to the situation in Paul's church at Corinth. It exhibits the following pattern:

¹ So, M. de Jonge, 'The Earliest Christian Use of *Christos*' (1986), *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, Leiden 1991, 103: 'in [Paul's] argumentation the titular use of Χριστός plays little or no role. . . .' Similar, N. A. Dahl, *Jesus the Christ*, Minneapolis 1991, 15–18; M. Hengel, '... Χριστός bei Paulus und in der "vorpaulinischen" Überlieferung,' *Paul and Paulinism*, FS C. K. Barrett, ed. M. D. Hooker, London, 1982, 137f. But see N. T. Wright, *The Climax of the Covenant*, Minneapolis 1991, 41–49.

² As is supposed, for example, by J. D. G. Dunn (*Christology in the Making*, London 1980, 183f.), who reflects an adoptionist Christology first advanced in the patristic church and argued in this century by the 'history of religions' school. Cf. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*, 2 vols. in 4, Louisville KY 1995, I, 77f.; E. Venables, 'Paul of Samosata,' *DCB* IV (1887), 253f.; W. Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, Nashville 1970 (1913), 49–54, 209 = GT: 16–21, 153; J. D. G. Dunn, *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament*, London 1977, 50–54.

³ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden, 1999, 79ff.; idem, 'Traditions in 1 Corinthians,' *NTS* 32 (1986), 490f.; W. A. Meeks, "And Rose up to Play:" Midrash and Paraenesis in I Corinthians 10:1–22,' *JSNT* 16 (1982), 64–78, 65; J. Habermann, *Präexistenzaussagen im Neuen Testament*, Frankfurt 1990, 196–202.

- 1a Introductory formula
- 1b-5 Opening 'texts' = interpretive summary of biblical texts (Exod 13-17; Num 14:29)⁴
- 6-7a Commentary/application
- 7b Supplementary text (Exod 32:6)
- 8-13 Commentary/application

An extended application (14-22, 23-31) concludes (31) with an allusion to I Cor 10:1b-5. The passage explicitly identifies the Exodus events of redemption and judgment as 'types (τύποι) for us,' as happening 'typically' (τυπικῶς) and 'written for our admonition' (10:6, 11). It uses the terms 'technically [as an] "advance presentation" intimating eschatological events.'⁵ Does it, however, place Christ only on the eschatological side of this typology? If so, at I Cor 10:9 it should read, 'Neither let us tempt Christ (Χριστόν) as some of them [at the Exodus] tempted Yahweh.' But, in fact, the verse reads, 'Neither let us tempt Christ (Χριστόν)⁶ as some of them tempted him.' It leaves the term, 'him,' unexpressed but clearly implied and thus places Christ both at the Exodus and in the (present) eschatological reality at Corinth.

This understanding of I Cor 10:9 illumines the meaning of 10:4bc:

For they were drinking from the spiritual following rock
And the rock was Christ.

Among the later rabbis 'the following rock' became an elaborate legend that may be derived in part from a word-play of the Targum⁷ and in part from interpretations of Exod 15-17 and Num 20-21 in

⁴ The midrash at Gal 4:21-5:1 has a similar opening 'text' (21f.). Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991, 98f.; idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978, 156.

⁵ L. Goppelt, 'τύπος,' *TDNT* 8 (1972), 251f.; cf. idem, *TYPOS: The Typological Interpretation of the Old Testament in the New*, Grand Rapids 1982, 218ff. = *GT*²: 272ff.

⁶ Following E. Nestle-K. Aland, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, Stuttgart ²⁶1979, 456; B. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament*, New York 1971, 560; L. Zuntz, *The Text of the Epistles*, London 1953, 126f.: 'κύριον then is a (later) "Alexandrian" corruption. . . .' Cf. G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1987, 457. Otherwise: A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, Edinburgh ²1914, 203f.

⁷ Targum Onkelos on Num 21:16ff. Cf. Tosefta Sukka 3, 11ff.; Midrash Sifre 95 (on Num 11:21); Pseudo-Philo, *The Biblical Antiquities* (c. AD 50-100) 10:7; 11:15. Cf. Ellis, 'A Note on I Cor 10:4,' *Prophecy* (note 4), 209-212 = *JBL* 76 (1957), 53-56.

later biblical texts.⁸ While Paul may have known the Targum, his mention of 'the spiritual following rock' (πνευματικῆς ἀκολουθούσης πέτρας) owes more to the biblical interpretations, especially to the identification of Yahweh as Israel's redeeming and judging Rock in Deut 32 and in Ps 78, where the Rock is linked to the Wilderness experiences (78:20, 35).⁹

The term, 'spiritual,' strengthens this understanding of I Cor 10:4. Ordinarily in Paul's letters it refers to eschatological realities and particularly to the gifts of the Holy Spirit.¹⁰ At I Cor 10:4 it also points to the activity of the Divine Spirit standing behind and effecting the miracle of the water from the rock:

In 10:4 food and drink are 'spiritual' in the same sense as 'the rock' mentioned immediately thereafter. In this way the things named are designated as phenomena that point and allude to πνεῦμα. As such they denote the phenomena of miracle, revelation and prophecy that concern an event effected by God.¹¹

That is, in agreement with the Old Testament Paul could, by metonymy, have called the miraculous work of God, that is, the Rock, by the name God. Surprisingly, he identifies the Rock not with God nor with the Spirit but with Christ.¹² To make clear that he does not mean the physical rock itself, he uses the qualifier 'spiritual.' As he does at I Cor 10:9, Paul places Christ on both sides of the typology, associating him on the one hand with the eschatological meal of the Lord's Supper (10:16f.) and on the other hand with the miraculous food and drink in the Exodus (10:4). In this way he affirms or presupposes the pre-existence of the person of Christ.¹³ Does he, in agreement with some contemporary Jewish

⁸ E.g. Ps 77:20; 78:15ff.; 104:41; Isa 48:21.

⁹ Deut 32:3f., 9–18. I Cor 10:13 alludes to Deut 32:4 LXX; 10:4 to Deut 32:13; 10:20 cites Deut 32:17. Cf. II Sam 22:2f., 47; 23:3; Ps 18:2; 78:20.

¹⁰ E.g. Rom 1:11; 15:27; I Cor 14:1; 15:44; Eph 1:3; Col 3:16.

¹¹ H. F. von Soden, 'Sakrament und Ethik bei Paulus,' *Das Paulusbild in der neueren deutschen Forschung*, ed. K. H. Rengstorff, Darmstadt 1969, 365. A partial ET of the article is provided in *The Writings of St. Paul*, ed. W. A. Meeks, New York 1972, 257–268. Cf. F. Godet, *Commentary on First Corinthians*, 2 vols. in 1, Grand Rapids 1977 (1889), 484ff. = II, 56ff.

¹² Elsewhere Paul can also equate the Spirit, in certain respects, with Christ. Cf. I Cor 6:17; 12:4–6; 15:45; Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 4), 66–69.

¹³ Cf. Habermann (note 3), 212–223 and the literature cited; F. Lang, *Die Briefe an die Korinther*, Göttingen 1986, 124; C. Wolff, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther II*, Berlin 1982, 42. This modifies and goes beyond my previous comment on this

exposition, also identify the Rock (and thus Christ) as the Divine Wisdom?¹⁴

CHRIST THE WISDOM OF GOD

The Alexandrian philosopher and exegete, Philo (c. 20 BC–AD 50), commented on Deut 8:15f.:

For the flinty rock is the wisdom of God . . . from which he gives water to souls that love God. . . . But the primal existence is God and next is the word of God.¹⁵

Again on Deut 32:13 he writes:

[Moses] uses the word 'rock' to express the solid and indestructible wisdom of God. . . . In another place he uses a synonym for this rock and calls it 'manna.' Manna is the divine word (λόγος).¹⁶

Although Philo works within a different hermeneutic, both he and Paul might still be drawing on common Jewish tradition.¹⁷ If I Cor 10:4 stood alone, it would not in itself establish that Paul here reflects a wisdom christology. However, other Pauline texts are more explicit. Col 1:15–20, which is also a preformed tradition,¹⁸ clearly reflects a wisdom christology that is made explicit in Col 2:3.¹⁹ More significant is I Cor 8:6.

Despite some shifts in argument and the incorporation of pre-

verse in E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991 (1957), 131. In this matter I accept the criticism of Anthony Hanson and would now agree with him that 'the real presence of the pre-existent Jesus,' i.e. of his person, best explains Paul's meaning here. However, *pace* Hanson, I remain convinced that 'typology' provides the frame by which Paul relates the events of the Exodus to those of the Eschaton. Cf. A. T. Hanson, *Jesus Christ in the Old Testament*, London 1965, 6f., 17ff., 172–178; idem, *Studies in Paul's Technique and Theology*, London 1974, 115f.; Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 4), 61ff., 72f., 105–109, 141–157.

¹⁴ So, H. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, Philadelphia 1975, 167 = GT: 196f.; C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London 1968, 222f. Otherwise: Fee (note 6), 448f.

¹⁵ Philo, *leg. alleg.* II, 86.

¹⁶ Philo, *quod det. pot. ins.* 115, 118.

¹⁷ So, Conzelmann (note 13), 167 = GT: 197.

¹⁸ Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 3), 108f.; G. E. Cannon, *The Use of Traditional Materials in Colossians*, Macon GA 1983, 19–37. When Paul uses a non-Pauline tradition, however, he thereby affirms it and makes it his own.

¹⁹ See the discussion and the literature cited in P. T. O'Brien, *Colossians, Philemon*, Waco 1982, 32–42, 95f.

formed materials²⁰ I Cor 8:1–11:1 was very probably composed by Paul as a unified piece.²¹ Consequently, I Cor 10:4 may be understood in the light of I Cor 8:6:

But for us there is one God the Father
From whom are all things and we for him
And one Lord Jesus Christ
Through whom are all things and we through him.

A Stoic ascription to the Logos, that is, to the World Soul is strikingly similar:

From you are all things
In you are all things
For you are all things.²²

This philosophical conception was reshaped by pre-Christian Judaism and ascribed to Divine Wisdom. It is reflected by Philo, who speaks of God 'by (ὑπό) whom' and the Word or Wisdom 'through (διὰ) whom' all was created;²³ and by the Wisdom of Solomon 9:1, which states that God 'made all things by your Word and by your Wisdom formed man.' It also appears in I Cor 8:6 where Paul ascribes the Genesis creation to the mediation of Christ.²⁴ However, the Apostle makes a radical change of reference:

Philo has the Word, Wisdom and variously-predicated further powers and beings. Paul on the other hand knows only one central Hypostasis, who combines the traits of Messiah, Wisdom, Word, Spirit and World Soul and also of the κύριος Yahweh and of the Lord and Savior of the mystery-cults and to whom are subjected all other beings that exist. Only the Spirit works independently alongside Christ, and he is actually the counterpart of Christ.²⁵

²⁰ Ellis, 'Traditions,' (note 3), 491, 494f. (on I Cor 8:6 and 10:1–13).

²¹ So, H. Probst, *Paulus und der Brief*, Tübingen 1991, 376–379 (from rhetorical considerations); P. J. Tomson, *Paul and the Jewish Law*, Minneapolis 1990, 190–193; H. Merklein, 'Die Einheitlichkeit des ersten Korintherbriefes,' *ZNTW* 75 (1984), 163–173; Fee (note 6), 357–363; Conzelmann (note 13), 137f. = GT: 162ff. Otherwise: W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, Nashville 1971, 100; J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, Göttingen 1970 (1910), xxxix–xliii, who think that two Pauline letters have been combined in I Cor 8:1–11:1.

²² Marcus Aurelius († AD 180), *Meditations* 4, 23.

²³ Philo, *de cher.* 127; idem, *quod det. pot. ins.* 54.

²⁴ Cf. Ellis, 'Traditions,' (note 3), 494f.; idem, *Documents* (note 3), 87–90.

²⁵ H. Windisch, 'Die Weisheit und die paulinische Christologie,' *Neutestamentliche Studien. FS G. Heinrich*, ed. A. Deissmann, Leipzig 1914, 220–234, 234.

If a wisdom christology is present at I Cor 8:6, as is most likely,²⁶ it may be inferred at 10:4, 9 where Christ is also given a predication and a function that in the Old Testament were ascribed to Yahweh and in pre-Christian Judaism to the Divine Wisdom. It is in this framework that Paul's argument can be best understood: It was Christ who was both the Redeemer and the Judge of Israel at the Exodus, and he will also perform these functions in the congregation of 'the Israel of God' at Corinth. As in Jude 5, Christ in I Cor 10 is the manifestation of Yahweh in his roles as Redeemer and Destroyer (cf. Exod 12:23; Dt 32:39; I Sam 2:6; Isa 45:6f.).

²⁶ Cf. R. A. Horsley, 'The Background of the Confessional Formula at I Kor 8, 6,' *ZNTW* 69 (1978), 130-135.

B. THIS WORLD AND THE WORLD TO COME

CHAPTER EIGHT

RESURRECTION: JESUS, THE SADDUCEES AND QUMRAN

Mt 22:23–33 gives the second of four temple ‘debates’ between Jesus and certain opponents or inquirers.¹ It is a *yelammedenu*-type midrash on Dt 25:5f. and Exod 3:6, 15f. in which attention is focused upon Jesus’ twofold answer to the Sadducean denial of a resurrection.² Their denial of resurrection (cf. Acts 23:8; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 16; M. *Sanh.* 10:1) does not reflect Old Testament conceptions³ but, more

¹ Cf. Mk 12:18–27; Lk 20:27–40. The fourfold scheme also occurs in the rabbinical writings, and it is possible that the ‘debates’ already formed a thematic collection in the precanonical Gospel tradition; cf. D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Peabody MA ²1994, 158–163.

² On the *yelammedenu* expository form cf. E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978; Grand Rapids ⁴1993, 158f.; idem, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 96–99, 98; Cf. V. Taylor, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*, London 1959, 480: ‘the story preserves genuine tradition of the most primitive kind.’ Cf. R. Meyer, ‘Σαδδουκαῖος,’ *TDNT* 7 (1971), 51f. R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, New York 1963 (¹1921), 26, 49 = GT²: 25, 51, unaware of the *yelammedenu* literary form, suggested that Mk 12:26f. = Mt 22:31f. was later coupled to the original story. To the contrary, the concluding biblical text is integral to the form and a part of its original creation. The account is substantially the same in all the Synoptic Gospels. However, Luke (20:34–35a, 36, 38b) omits the Lord’s two rebukes (cf. Mk 12:24–27) and adds several explanatory phrases, possibly from a non-Markan tradition. Cf. C. A. Kimball, *Jesus’ Exposition of the Old Testament in Luke’s Gospel*, Sheffield UK 1994, 164–177; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ⁷1996, 234–237.

³ Resurrection appears a number of times in various OT strata (see below, note 20) although some nineteenth-century scholars, apparently under the influence of an evolutionary scheme, redated the texts to identify such passages as a later development. In fact, the conception of resurrection was present already in ancient Egypt, from which Israel may have received it. Cf. J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York 1912: ‘A chapter of the Pyramid Texts tells the whole story of the resurrection. . . . They say of thee, O Osiris: “Though thou departest, thou comest (again); though thou sleepest, thou wakest (again); though thou diest, thou livest (again)”’ (31f.). ‘One of the ceremonies . . . symbolized the resurrection of Osiris. . . . In the end the deceased Pharaoh became Osiris and enjoyed the same resuscitation . . .’ (39). ‘The royal destiny of Osiris and his triumph over death . . . rapidly disseminated among the people the belief that this destiny, once probably reserved for the king, might be shared by all’ (290). Cf. A. Ehrman, *Die Religion der Ägypter*, Berlin 1934, 218. See below, 188f.

likely, the influence of Epicurean philosophy.⁴ The challenge takes the form of a resurrection riddle, a game not unknown among the rabbis.⁵ The argument, which presents the idea of resurrection as an absurdity, doubtless was effective against the common view of resurrection life, that is, as an extension of the 'good life' of this age.⁶ By asserting a fundamental difference in sexual relationships in the coming age,⁷ Jesus moves beyond their initial question (24–28) to the basic issue. He appeals to Moses to show 'that the dead are raised' (31f.).

JESUS' ARGUMENT FOR RESURRECTION

Jesus' argument is one from inference and proceeds from several assumptions common to him and his opponents: God said he was the God of Abraham after Abraham was dead; but God is not the God of the dead. Therefore, Jesus concludes, Abraham's resurrection must be certain. Traditionally, the argument has been construed to teach primarily the immortality of the soul. That is, the 'soul' of the patriarch was still living; since the body is important to human nature, its future resurrection also is to be inferred.⁸ This interpreta-

⁴ The Sadducees were associated by rabbinic writings (e.g. *Sifre on Numbers*, 112, middle, on Num. 5:31) and implicitly by Josephus with the Epicureans, a designation that the rabbis broadened but that 'may stem from the controversy between Sadducees and Pharisees in the first century AD' (M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., London 1974, II, 115). Cf. V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, New York 1975, 261f.: Josephus 'compared the Pharisees to the Stoics (*Vita* 12) and the Essenes to the followers of Pythagoras (*Ant.* 15, 371). Thus it was bound to result that the third sect – that of the Sadducees – would resemble the followers of Epicurus.' Cf. Meyer (note 2), 46.

⁵ Cf. BT *Nid.* 70b; *Sanh.* 90a, b.

⁶ Cf. (H. L. Strack and) P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols., München 1922–28, I, 887ff.; 1QS 4:7f.

⁷ Cf. I Cor 15:50; Heb 11:35. The present passage has a different perspective on Christ's view of marriage from that in Mk 10:6ff. There, some suppose, the messianic age is viewed in terms of a restored (or consummated) Eden in which marriage has a place (cf. J. Jeremias, 'παράδεισος,' *TDNT* 5 (1967/1954), 772 = GT: 770). If so, the indissoluble marriage presumably is understood to apply to the messianic community only in its pre-resurrection stage, i.e. until the parousia of the Son of Man.

⁸ H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to Mark*, Grand Rapids 1951 (1913), 282. Cf., more recently, I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, Exeter UK 1978, 738; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1985, II, 1301, 1307; the discussion in J. J. Kilgallen, 'The Sadducees and Resurrection from the Dead,' *Bib* 67 (1986), 478–495. See below, Chapter X, 'Eschatology in Luke Revisited,'

tion is not very satisfactory, however. It assumes a Greek body/soul dualism which is, to say the least, uncharacteristic of both the Old Testament and the New Testament view of man.⁹ More seriously, it defeats the precise point of Jesus' argument. If Abraham is now personally 'living,' no resurrection would be necessary for God to be 'his God.'

The premise of Jesus' argument is very probably the Old Testament view of Sheol. This premise, the nature of the 'living' God, and God's covenant with Abraham imply the necessity of a resurrection. That is, God's continuing covenant with the dead Abraham presupposes that He will actualize it by delivering Abraham from Sheol.¹⁰ Further, as H. Odeberg has observed, the use together of the three names, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, signified in current Jewish exegesis God's intention for the covenant people as a whole.¹¹ If the patriarchs' resurrection is certain, so also is that of their covenant children. The argument, thus construed, has a thrust that the Sadducees would find difficult to avoid, much less to answer. However, one must ask whether such a reconstruction meets the demands of the context and accords with the picture of Jesus elsewhere in the Gospels. Also, the interpretation would be strengthened by (although it by no means depends upon) showing that this view was present elsewhere in the religious thought of first-century Judaism.

In the context Luke's (20:39) *pesher*¹² adds πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν (For him all are alive; N.E.B.). This often is used as a support for

120–128. W. Strawson (*Jesus and the Future Life*, Philadelphia 1959, 210) modifies this slightly by the unlikely assertion that for 'Jesus and his contemporaries . . . immortality and resurrection were synonymous.' Even those Jews who affirmed a continuing life in the intermediate state never, as far as I am aware, referred to this as resurrection. The idea of 'resurrection at death' is a later development which probably had its origin in a gnostic-type Christian heresy. Cf. II Tim 2:18; Justin, *Dial.* 80; W. Schmithals, *Gnosticism in Corinth*, Nashville TN 1971, 156–159 = GT: 71–74; see below, Chapter XIII, 'ΣΩΜΑ in First Corinthians,' 165–178.

⁹ See below, Chapter XIII, 'ΣΩΜΑ in First Corinthians,' 175ff.; Chapter XII, 'The Structure of Pauline Eschatology,' 152–164. Cf. R. Bultmann, *The Theology of the New Testament*, London 1952, I, 209; J. Pedersen, *Israel*, London 1959 (1926), I–II, 180, 460ff.; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London 1952, 14, 17. Otherwise: R. H. Gundry, *Soma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids 1987.

¹⁰ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *NBD*, 697f.; O. Schwankl, *Die Sadduzäerfrage (Mk 12, 18–27 par)*, Frankfurt 1987, 393–396; J. Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus*, Göttingen 1960 (1936), 125. The rabbis had a similar argument, based on Deut 11:9 and Exod 6:4. Cf. Billerbeck (note 6), I, 893ff.

¹¹ H. Odeberg, 'ἱακῶβ,' *TDNT* 3 (1965/1938), 191f.

¹² This term has been used to identify a targumizing procedure in some Qumran and New Testament citations of the Old Testament in which the Old Testament

the traditional interpretation of immortality after death, as is the parallel in IV Maccabees.¹³ More instructive for Luke's meaning, however, are a number of Pauline passages referring to the ἐν Χριστῷ and σὺν Χριστῷ existence of the believer. As Christ died τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ and now lives τῷ θεῷ, so the Christian is to regard himself as dead τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ and living τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.¹⁴ In Gal 2:19f. Paul describes this personally: 'I died in the law (νόμῳ) that I might live in God (θεῷ). I have been crucified with Christ; it is no longer I who live, but Christ who lives in me.' On this verse Schlier comments, 'The existence of the baptized one is no longer grounded in (*durch*) his ἐγώ, i.e. his former "natural" man, but rather in (*durch*) the life newly created in him, i.e. Christ. The ζῶν ἡμῶν (Col 3:4B) is Christ with whom we as the dead hidden in God live' (Col 3:3).¹⁵ Paul's thought here is best understood in the framework of the Semitic

text-form undergoes (1) an interpretive moulding, (2) *ad hoc* or with reference to selected textual traditions, (3) in order to apply it to a present-time eschatological fulfillment. Cf. M. P. Horgan, *Pesharim*, Washington DC 1979, 2f.; W. H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk*, Missoula MT 1979, 19–35; K. Stendahl, *The School of St. Matthew*, Uppsala 1969, 183–206; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991, 139–147; idem, *Prophecy* (note 2), 173–181. I believe that the same type of hermeneutical procedure has been used on some of Jesus' sayings to apply them to the post-resurrection 'eschatological present' although, of course, probably without a selection from variant textual traditions. It is not inappropriate nor an excessive broadening of the term to identify *this kind* of interpretive alteration in Jesus' sayings as a *midrash peshet*. Cf. Ellis, *Luke* (note 2), 171–174; idem, 'Luke xi. 49–51: An Oracle of a Christian Prophet?' *ET* 74 (1962–63), 157f. Fr. Lindars has suggested that *any* interpretive text-form be labelled a *peshet* text. Cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, London 1961, 15n. It might be more useful, however, to restrict the term to text-forms meeting the above qualifications.

¹³ Cf. IV Macc 7:19; 16:25: The Maccabean martyrs who die for God's cause, like the patriarchs, 'live in God' (ζῶσιν τῷ θεῷ). I. Abrahams (*JE* VIII, 244) thinks that the passages may be Christian interpolations. The phrase ζῆν τῷ θεῷ appears frequently, invariably in the future, in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (e.g. *Man* 4,2,4; 6,2,10; *Sim* 9,20,4; cf. 9,28,8). See also BT *Ber* 18a,b where it is argued from II Sam 23:20 that the righteous dead are 'living.'

¹⁴ Rom 6:10f.; cf. 14:8. Rom 6:10f. is referring to the corporate ἐν Χριστῷ life. Cf. Rom 6:8. In the light of this passage, as well as Col 3:3, one may question the contrast which has been drawn by Schweitzer between a 'Christ mysticism,' and (against) a 'God mysticism' in Paul. Cf. A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, New York 1931, 5; cf. A. Deissmann, *Paul*, London 1926, 146; idem, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, Marburg 1892.

¹⁵ '... mit dem wir als die Gestorbenen verborgen in Gott leben.' H. Schlier, *Die Briefe an die Galater*, Göttingen 1951, 63. Older commentators usually have taken this θεῷ and similar expressions as 'datives of advantage,' cf. E. de W. Burton, *Galatians*, Edinburgh 1921, 134; but cf. 138; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament*, London 1914, 539. Compare the similar, though textually garbled, passage in II Cor 13:4: 'As he was crucified in (ἐκ) weakness but lives by (ἐκ) the

idea of corporate solidarity.¹⁶ That is, Paul views the ἐν Χριστῷ reality to be a corporate sphere of existence in which the resurrection life of the believer is now fully realized.¹⁷ However, the individual actualization of this corporate reality, the defeat of death in the individual Christian, awaits the parousia. If Luke 20:38b reflects the Pauline thought-pattern, the phrase might read, 'For all in him are alive' or 'all in covenant relation to him live.'¹⁸ Probably the phrase is Luke's commentary, which has his Christian readers specifically in view and which refers to the life of the coming age that has become present in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹⁹

SIMILAR CONCEPTIONS AT QUMRAN

If Jesus combined an argument for resurrection with an Old Testament view of Sheol and of resurrection,²⁰ did such a view find expression elsewhere in first-century Judaism?²¹ Neither the eschatology of the Sadducees, nor that of the Pharisees, nor that of the Essenes as

power of God, so we are weak in him (ἐν αὐτῷ p46) but, regarding you, shall live in him (ἐν αὐτῷ p46) by the power of God.' See below, Chapter X, 'Eschatology in Luke Revisited,' 126f.

¹⁶ See below, Chapter XII, 'The Structure of Pauline Eschatology,' 148–157.

¹⁷ The dative case, which is so prominent in Paul's letters, is in many instances a locative of sphere. Cf. Robertson (note 15), 521; C. F. D. Moule, *An Idiom-Book of New Testament Greek*, Cambridge 1959, 44.

¹⁸ Cf. Col 3:3; Ignatius, *To the Ephesians* 6:2, where the Christian life is a life 'in God': 'your orderly conduct in God (τὴν ἐν θεῷ εὐταξίαν), for you all live according to truth (κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε).'

¹⁹ Otherwise: C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, London 1990, 719f.

²⁰ Cf. Job 17:13–16 with 14:13ff.; 19:25ff.; Ps 16:9ff.; 49:14f.; Isa 38:18 with 26:19; Ben Sira 17:27f. with 48:10f. LXX; F. Saracino, 'Resurrezioni in Ben Sira?' *Henoch* 4 (1982), 185–203; Ellis, 'Life' (note 10), 697f. It is usual to identify the Sadducean dogma, even in its denial of a resurrection (cf. Josephus, *War* 2,165; *Ant.* 18,16; Acts 23:8), with the Old Testament or with early Jewish orthodoxy. Cf. E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh ²1973–87, II, 38ff. But see above, 96f.

²¹ Paul also argues that apart from resurrection death is the end (I Cor 15:18, 32). Jesus' teachings elsewhere cannot be considered here. But the above interpretation does not contradict the general Gospels' picture. The saying in Lk 23:42f. can be interpreted along the lines argued above; see below, Chapter XI, 'Present and Future Eschatology in Luke,' 139–145. Lk 16:19–31 is no longer considered, even by conservative commentators, to be a proper source to discover Christ's teaching on the intermediate state. Cf. M. Geldenhuys, *Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids 1956, 428; Marshall (note 8), 633; somewhat similar, D. L. Bock, *Luke*, 2 vols., Grand Rapids 1996, II, 1363.

reported in the classical sources conforms to this pattern.²² However, the manuscript discoveries in the Dead Sea caves raise new questions and possibilities. At the same time they pose new problems and different interpretations concerning the views at Qumran about life after death. Forty years ago R. B. Laurin and R. Meyer, for example, identified the Qumran belief with that of the Sadducees: death ends all.²³ On the other hand, M. Mansoor and others argued that the sect believed in both the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the dead.²⁴ Recently published Qumran texts have confirmed the sect's belief in the resurrection of the dead.²⁵

Regarding immortality, all the passages that Mansoor appeals to may be equally well interpreted of a future resurrection life. The invitation to interpret them in terms of an immortal soul-life does not come from the Qumran texts but from Josephus, who asserts the belief of the Essenes in immortality.²⁶ Even if the identification of Qumran with some form of Essenism is correct, however, there

²² On the Sadducees see above, note 4. Usually thought to be more resistant to the inroads of Hellenistic culture, the Pharisees in this matter were considerably – and rather early – influenced by a Greek body/soul dualism. R. Meyer (*Hellenistisches in der rabbinischen Anthropologie*, Stuttgart 1937, 11–15) detects remnants of an older view in which the ‘soul’ remains near the grave, e.g., in BT *Hag* 15b, *Ber* 18a, *Shab* 13b. But even there the dualism already is presupposed. For the Pharisees the departure of the ‘soul’ to reward or punishment immediately at death was a wide-spread if not a dominant doctrine. The Essenes (or some of them) shared this view, probably along with the Pharisees’ doctrine of resurrection. Cf. Josephus, *War* 2,154; *Ant.* 18, 12–22; Hippolytus, *Refut.* 9,27 (= *ANF*: 9,22); M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London 1961, 173–191; Schürer (note 20), II, 539–544; Jeremias (note 7), 768 = GT: 765; K. Kohler, ‘The Essenes,’ *JE* V, 224–232.

²³ A view that, with the publication of further Qumran texts, turned out to be wrong. Cf. R. B. Laurin, ‘The Question of Immortality in the Qumran *Hodayot*,’ *JSS* 3 (1958), 344–355; R. Meyer (note 2), 49, traces the Sadducees and Qumran to a common old Jewish orthodoxy and relates them in much the same fashion to rabbinic and apocalyptic Pharisaism. Against an identification of the Qumran community with the Sadducees cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, ‘The Qumran Community: Essene or Sadducean?,’ *HJ* 36 (1995), 467–476.

²⁴ M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, Leiden 1961, 84ff. and the literature cited there; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, Oxford 1961, 53. The evidence usually adduced is from the *Hodayot*; apparently, only in the Hymns do the terms ‘Sheol’ and (with one exception: 1QS 11:7,9,12) ‘flesh’ in its ethical sense appear. Cf. D. Flusser, ‘The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,’ *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, edd. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1958, 253.

²⁵ See below, Chapter XIV, note 25, p. 186.

²⁶ Cf. 1QH 3:19–23; 4:21f.; 6:13; 1QH frag. 7:5. = 1 QH 11:19–23. Josephus, *War* 2,154f.: The Essenes believe ‘that bodies are corruptible and their constituent matter impermanent, but that souls are immortal and continue forever.’ Hippolytus (*Refut. Hereses* 9,27 = *ANF* 9,22) credits them also with a belief in the resurrection of the body. Cf. Black (note 22), 190f.

are several objections to following Josephus at this point. As Frank Cross and others have noted, Josephus betrays a hellenizing tendency in his description of the Essenes.²⁷ Also, Qumran and not the classical sources must be the norm by which Qumran Essenism is to be judged. The primary objection to a belief by the Qumran sect in the immortality of the soul is their view of man. The flesh/spirit dualism at Qumran, as in the New Testament, is not metaphysical but ethical, with its roots in Iran and in the Old Testament and not in Greece.²⁸ Man is not a mixture of 'matter' and 'spirit'; he is a creature of dust, entirely mortal, whose 'base matter can be ennobled by the divine gift of the Spirit.'²⁹ This view of man excludes the idea of the immortality or of an after-life of the soul, but it fits well with Qumran's belief in the resurrection of the whole man from Sheol.

A striking element in Qumran eschatology is the expression of future hope in the midst of a rather pessimistic view of man and of death:

You redeemed my soul from the pit, and from the Sheol of Abaddon,³⁰
You drew me up to an everlasting height, so that I may . . . know that
there is hope for him whom You did fashion from the dust to be an
everlasting community. And a perverted spirit You did cleanse . . . to
stand in array with the host of holy ones . . . (1QH 3:19–22 = 11:19–22).

The glory of God's redemption is then contrasted with the one who receives it: 'But I, a creature of clay, what am I? I, kneaded with water, and for what am I esteemed?'³¹

Another hymn speaks in more specific terms of the future judgment in which 'all (God's) true children shall be roused to destroy

²⁷ F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, Sheffield UK ³1995, 79; A. Oepke, 'ἀνίστημι' *TDNT* I (1964/1933), 369f.

²⁸ Whether one, with Davies, sees in this ethical dualism some hellenistic influence or not (with Kuhn) does not affect the essential point. Cf. K. G. Kuhn, 'New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament;' W. D. Davies, 'Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls,' *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendahl, New York 1957, 101–108, 165.

²⁹ Flusser (note 24), 262; cf. 254, 257.

³⁰ Laurin (note 23) takes this to mean, as often in the Old Testament, a present deliverance from death. But something more than this seems to be involved. Cf. Black's ([note 22], 135–142), thorough and perceptive discussion.

³¹ 1QH 3:24 = 11:24; cf. 1QS 11:20–22: 'For what, indeed, is the son of man among Thy marvelous works? . . . From dust is he formed and the food of worms is his portion . . .' (Black [note 22], 141).

the sons of wickedness' and 'those who lie in the dust³² have lifted up their standard pole . . .' (1QH 6:29f., 34 = 14:29f., 34). These passages probably are to be understood as a future resurrection hope.³³ But this hope is achieved not through an altered view of man or of Sheol but through a confidence in God's power over Sheol.³⁴ The most explicit Qumran texts to affirm the resurrection of the dead are 4Q521 (*Messianic Apocalypse*) and 4Q385 (Pseudo-Ezekiel):³⁵

When [the Messiah] comes, he will heal the wounded and make the dead live (מֵתִים יַחְיֶה); he will proclaim good news to the meek . . . (4Q521² 2:11f.).

[And Yahweh said], 'Son of man, prophesy over the bones. . . . Prophesy . . . and the winds [of the sky] will blow [upon them and they will live] and a large crowd of men will rise and bless YHWH Sebaoth who caused them to live' (4Q385 2:5, 7f., Martinez).

The picture of the impotence of man contrasted with the power of God over death is reminiscent of some passages in the Old Testament:

As waters fail from a lake, and a river wastes away and dries up, so man lies down and rises not again. . . . Oh that you would hide me in Sheol, . . . that you would appoint me a set time, and remember me! If a man die shall he live again? All the days of my service I will wait, till my release comes.³⁶

Man cannot abide in his pomp, he is like the beasts that perish. . . . Like sheep they are appointed for Sheol; Death shall be their shepherd; . . . But God will ransom my soul from the power of Sheol.³⁷

³² וְשׁוֹכְבֵי עָפָר; Job 7:21; 20:11; 21:26; Mansoor (note 24), 87.

³³ So, Black (note 22), 141f.; Mansoor (note 24).

³⁴ W. D. Davies (in Stendahl, [note 28], 165), and Flusser (note 24), 253, take the psalms to reflect a later stage in the history of the sect.

³⁵ So, re 4Q521, J. H. Charlesworth, *Towards a Taxonomy of Resurrection Texts (1QH, 4Q521, Luke and the Fourth Gospel)*, N. Richland Hills TX, forthcoming. Cf. F. G. Martinez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*, Grand Rapids 1996, 394, 286; M. O. Wise and J. D. Tabor, 'The Messiah of Qumran,' *BAR* 18, 6 (1992), 60–65, 62f. See below, Chapter XIV, note 25, p. 186.

³⁶ Job 14:11–14, i.e. release from Sheol. Cf. S. R. Driver and G. B. Gray, *The Book of Job*, Edinburgh 1921, 129, who think, however, that Job does not really expect it.

³⁷ Ps 49:12–15. Cf. Isa 26:19–21; W. Eichrodt, *Man in the Old Testament*, London 1951, 62: 'In the audacious image which describes God as his portion, the writer of the 73rd Psalm summarizes what gives life an unfading value. . . . For this portion remains, even when body and soul disappear in death. When God upholds and guides and removes, the believer finds his ultimate shelter here, even if he can say nothing about the way in which God will maintain his connection with him. . . .' Cf. Ellis, 'Life' (note 10), 697–701. See below, 176f., 188f.

One may be reasonably confident that the traditional interpretation of Jesus' answer to the Sadducees does not offer a satisfactory exegesis. The alternative presented above appears to give a better understanding of the passage, and it is supported by a number of Qumran texts. The sect's views in this area are now fairly clear although there is still additional material awaiting publication. From the texts published so far, it is probable that Qumran also combined an Old Testament view of Sheol with a future resurrection hope. If so, Qumran has again shed new light not only upon the first-century Jewish world but also upon the teachings of our Lord.³⁸

³⁸ One other affinity has been noted between the present passage and the Qumran texts, i.e. that resurrected persons will be in certain respects 'like angels' (Mk 12:25: ὡς ἄγγελοι; Lk 20:36: ἰσάγγελοι). But cf. also Enoch 104:4ff.; Billerbeck (note 6), I, 891. This idea seems to have had a fairly wide currency.

CHAPTER NINE

ESCHATOLOGY IN LUKE

INTRODUCTORY PROBLEMS

The function of eschatology in the Gospel of Luke has evoked increasing interest in recent years for a number of reasons. First, it is a part of a theme, eschatology, that had led, if not dominated, New Testament studies since the beginning of this century.¹ Also, it accords with the emphasis of composition criticism that the evangelists were not merely reporters or editors but theologians in their own right. Finally and more specifically, the eschatology of Luke plays a significant role for an important school of New Testament scholars in their interpretation of early Christian theology and history.²

In the present situation, therefore, it is no longer the simple question, 'What aspects of Jesus' eschatology did Luke record?' The function of eschatology in *Luke* has become the function of eschatology for *Luke*. This raises immediate and difficult problems.

To begin with, in this area of inquiry, which must be broadened to include the book of Acts, there is no agreed method by which one discovers what in Luke is 'Lukan.' Some would define 'Lukan' in terms of the evangelist's own innovations. Most would agree that the Gospel of Mark and Q traditions give a touchstone by which variations in parallel Lukan passages may be tested. But, of course, it is not always certain whether Lukan variations are his own *de novo*

¹ The literature is voluminous. For a summary selection, cf. L. J. Kreitzer, *Jesus and God in Paul's Eschatology*, Sheffield UK 1987; W. Willis, ed., *The Kingdom of God in 20th-Century Interpretation*, Peabody MA 1987; B. Chilton, ed., *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, Philadelphia 1984; W. G. Kümmel, *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte: Gesammelte Aufsätze 1933-1977*, 2 vols., edd. by Erich Grässer and Otto Merk, Marburg 1978; G. E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future*, Grand Rapids ²1974; O. Cullmann, *Salvation in History*, London 1967; A. L. Moore, *The Parousia in the New Testament*, Leiden 1966.

² E.g. G. Strecker, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin 1996, 412-438, and the literature cited; Hans Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, New York 1960 = GT: *Die Mitte der Zeit*, Tübingen ⁵1964 (1954); L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn, edd., *Studies in Luke-Acts. FS Paul Schubert*, Nashville 1966. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ⁷1996, 48ff.

or his use of a tradition parallel to Mark³ or of the retained text of a Q episode (that Matthew has altered). Even when a text or setting or structure is in Lukan style, one must always reckon with the possibility that Luke is summarizing a source⁴ or taking over a setting or structure from a source.⁵

The practice of making a radical distinction between a biblical writer's own comment and his use of a source rests, therefore, on a number of uncertainties. It also appears to be an oversimplification of the problem. As a method, it is questionable simply to equate 'pre-Lukan' with 'non-Lukan': The fact that a passage in Luke, or for that matter in a letter of Paul, is derived from an earlier tradition does not in itself make the passage less Lukan or less Pauline. A tradition that is affirmed by an author becomes a part of the author's conception.

One must ask a further question: In using a source, to what degree and in what way does the writer make it his own? To ask this does not solve any problems, but it offers a guard against oversimplified answers to a complex question. All of the material in Luke is in some sense 'Lukan' from the fact that Luke includes it. If the traditional material has acquired a Lukan shape, the editorial material also may have a traditional character. In choosing sources, as much as in *ad hoc* elaboration, Luke is expressing his concerns and preferences. The investigator, therefore, must be concerned with the whole and cannot limit his attention to Lukan variations from Mark and Matthew, however important they may be.⁶ Even so, the

³ The agreements of Matthew and Luke against a parallel source in Mark are more extensive than B. H. Streeter observed in *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins* (London 1924). See above, Chapter I, 9f. Cf. N. Turner, 'The Minor Verbal Agreements of Mt and Lk against Mk,' in *Studia Evangelica I* (TU 73), edd. K. Aland et al., Berlin 1959, 223-234; E. P. Sanders, *The Tendencies of the Synoptic Tradition*, Cambridge 1969, 290ff.

⁴ For example, is Luke's editorial comment in Lk 19:11 created *de novo* or is it a summary of matter stated or implied in his tradition(s) of the parables of 'The Pounds' and 'The Rejected King' (Lk 19:12-27)?

⁵ Regarding structure, cf. W. R. Farmer, 'Notes on a Literary and Form-Critical Analysis of Some of the Synoptic Material Peculiar to Luke,' *NTS* 8 (1961-62), 301-316; C. H. Talbert, 'An Anti-Gnostic Tendency in Lucan Christology,' *NTS* 14 (1967-68), 259-271, especially 260-261.

⁶ Luke may include more from a source than the aspect that he is concerned to develop. But since he shows himself quite capable of altering his sources, it is doubtful that he includes anything, however traditional, with which he explicitly disagrees. On some compositional tendencies in Luke cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough,

task – the very subjective task – remains: In building a general hypothesis about Luke's eschatology, what weight should be placed upon a given passage or interpretation or modification?

A second problem is to discover the historical background against which the teaching of Luke is to be viewed. In some ways one is faced with the same kind of hermeneutical circle that is encountered in the 'quest of the historical Jesus.' From selected passages in the Synoptics one reconstructs a picture of Jesus' preresurrection mission (or proclamation); from this reconstruction one then identifies the Synoptic passages that genuinely reflect that mission.⁷ In the case of Luke more controls are operative, but the essential problem remains. A proper evaluation of the eschatology in Luke greatly depends upon a reconstruction of the eschatological teaching and climate in the total context. This means not only the church and society of Luke's day but also the earliest church and the preresurrection mission of Jesus. The limited amount of hard, factual evidence and the literary character of the evidence we do possess give to that evaluation a considerable measure of subjectivity. In criticizing the reconstruction of certain colleagues I do not wish to leave the impression that the thesis developed here is free from these subjective elements. The task is one of weighing various factors in which differences of judgment as well as differences of philosophy and world view play their role.⁸ And, no doubt, each student is prone to read the New Testament through glasses ground in his particular theological tradition and personal inclinations.

Sheffield UK 1991, 332f.; idem, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 355.

⁷ Cf. also R. P. C. Hanson, ('The Enterprise of Emancipating Christian Belief from History' in *Vindications: Essays on the Historical Basis of Christianity*, ed. A. Hanson, London 1966, 29–73, especially 38f.), who makes a similar observation concerning the classical form criticism: The Gospels are used to reconstruct the setting in the primitive church; from that reconstruction the various passages are then explained as originating in that setting.

⁸ For example, Continental rationalism may be contrasted with British empiricism from the time of René Descartes and John Locke. While these streams of thought certainly have overlapped and altered, they are not indistinguishable even today (cf. José Ferrater, *Philosophy Today: Conflicting Tendencies in Contemporary Thought* [New York 1960], 89–98). In biblical studies they very likely continue implicitly to influence the priorities that a scholar in the 'rationalist' or the 'empiricist' tradition gives, respectively, to his approach to a problem. One may observe this kind of issue appearing at times in the Scottish James Barr's critique of the *TWNT* in his *The Semantics of Biblical Language* (New York 1961, 211–213; 218–233; 257–260); of B.S. Childs in Barr's *The Concept of Biblical Theology* (London 1999); cf. Barr's article, 'Common Sense and Biblical Language,' *Biblica* 49 (1968), esp. 378, 383–387. Note

SCHOLARLY VIEWPOINTS

At mid-century two hypotheses, which have continuing effects today,⁹ had considerable importance for the reconstruction of Lukan eschatology. The most widely discussed thesis was that Luke introduced a theology of salvation history to explain the delay of the parousia (Hans Conzelmann). A second thesis was that Luke's eschatology involved a shift from horizontal, apocalyptic categories – this age/age to come – to vertical, Platonic categories – earth/heaven, time/eternity. By this shift the consummation of salvation is removed from the temporal future to a timeless sphere (Helmut Flender). Earlier Johannes Weiss had argued similarly for early transformation in the church's eschatology from an expectation of an imminent parousia and new creation to a view in which the righteous were transferred at death to the messianic kingdom in Paradise or heaven. As examples of the effect of this change he pointed to Acts 14:22 ('through many tribulations we must enter the kingdom of God') and to the special Lukan traditions at Lk 16:19–31; 23:43, that is, the rich man and Lazarus and the promise to the robber on the cross, whose origin he placed in the (post-AD 70) Jerusalem congregation.¹⁰

To these texts some added Acts 7:56, Stephen's vision of the exalted Lord, interpreted as Jesus' welcome to his martyr into heavenly glory. Going beyond Weiss, C. K. Barrett found this interpretation of Acts 7:56 to be part of a Lukan rewriting of primitive Christian eschatology: 'Luke saw that for the individual Christian death was truly an *eschaton* (though not the *eschaton* . . .) marked by what we may term a private and personal parousia of the Son of man. That which was to happen in a universal sense at the last day, happened in individual terms [at death].'¹¹

also the philosophical presuppositions distinguishing the theologies of R. Bultmann on the one hand and O. Cullmann and P. Stuhlmacher on the other. See below, 215–233, 246–251, 256–261.

⁹ Cf. Strecker (note 2).

¹⁰ Cf. Conzelmann (note 2); see above, 98ff.; H. Flender, *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History*, Philadelphia 1967; J. Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, Philadelphia 1971, 99n, 136n. = GT: *Die Predigt Jesu vom Reiche Gottes*, Göttingen 1892, 37n, 67n. Weiss thinks that this is the (only) form of the parousia hope that Christians today can affirm. See below, 120–128.

¹¹ C. K. Barrett, 'Stephen and the Son of Man,' *Apophoreta. FS E. Haenchen*, ed. W. Schneemelcher, Berlin 1964, 35f. There are problems in this interpretation of Acts 7. First, the episode ends with the comment not that Stephen 'departed' or 'was carried to heaven' but that 'he fell asleep.' That is, it follows the idiom of the

Helmut Flender's *St. Luke: Theologian of Redemptive History*, in an appraisal of Luke's theology on this question, reached essentially the same conclusion by a different route.¹² According to Flender, Luke seeks to relate the ongoing history of the world to 'the new world of God which Christ brought' (164). By making Jesus' exaltation – in distinction from his resurrection¹³ – the decisive event, Luke places the consummation of salvation in heaven (91–106). For Paul, the turn of the ages occurs at Jesus' resurrection, that is, in time; for Luke, 'the transition . . . is from this world into the celestial world which exists concurrently' (19). Although eschatology is (hiddenly) made present in the church in the Spirit come 'down from heaven' and in the word of proclamation (140–152), Flender continues, their heavenly origin determines their character: 'The divine presence cannot be projected indefinitely into time' (151). Since Jesus' goal is achieved with his exaltation, it and the parousia are essentially identical (94). The apocalyptic sayings in Luke 17 are, therefore, given a transferred, individual application by Luke: 'In that night one shall be taken and the other left' (Lk 17:34; cf. 12:20) is similar to Jesus' word to the robber on the cross, 'This day you shall be with me in Paradise' (Lk 23:43). Both refer to the day of the individual's death, in which he either loses his life or 'gains it' (15, 159).

Flender makes many good observations and directs attention to

eschatology of the primitive church (Acts 13:36; I Thess 4:13ff.; 5:10; I Cor 11:30; 15:18) and of Jesus (Lk 8:52–54; cf. Jn 11:11; Lk 7:14). More importantly, the context of the vision in Acts 7 is the speech scene and not the death scene, the reason for the attack against Stephen and not Jesus' response to it. In the context of the speech the vision is best understood as a witness to or confirmation of Stephen's judgment upon the temple cult and the nation, a judgment which is not his own but that of the judging Son of man who is none other than Jesus (Acts 7:55f.). There are verbal similarities with Jesus' prophecy against the temple in Lk 13:34f. Cf. R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, Edinburgh ²1985, 100–157, 103ff.; Ellis, *Luke* (note 2); see below, note 31; Chapter XI, 139–146.

¹² Flender (note 10). This somewhat misleading title reads, in the German original, *Heil und Geschichte in der Theologie des Lukas*.

¹³ This is exegetically disputed, as Flender (note 10), 18n, observes. Cf. Talbert (note 5), 262n; A. M. Ramsey, 'What Was the Ascension?' *Historicity and Chronology in the New Testament*, edd. D. E. Nineham *et al.*, London 1965, 135–144. Although Acts 5:31 is uncertain, no distinction between resurrection and exaltation is evident in Acts 10:39f., 13:28, 30f., where there appears to be a word play on 'exalt' and 'hang' (cf. Matthew Black, 'The Son of Man Problem in Recent Research and Debate,' *B7RL* 45 [1962–63], 305–318, esp. 315ff.). The identification of the resurrection and exaltation is favored by the grammar at Acts 2:32f. and by the chiasmic pattern at Acts 3:13–15, 'glorified/delivered up, killed/raised.' Cf. Lk 24:46; Acts 2:34ff.

fundamental questions in New Testament eschatology, specifically, (1) the relation of horizontal and vertical eschatology and (2) the nature of the continuity and discontinuity between this age and the age to come. In each case, however, his answers rest upon a frame of reference and preconceptions that must in turn be questioned. Is the vertical dimension given to Christian eschatology by Jesus' exaltation a vehicle by which Luke shifts the temporal frame of salvation history toward the earth/heaven, time/eternity categories of Platonism and Gnosticism, as Flender appears to assume?¹⁴ Or is the vertical dimension a necessary consequence of Jesus' exaltation which, from the beginning of the church, was incorporated into the horizontal, two-age eschatology?

To determine the *function* of Lukan eschatology it is vitally important to determine first the *conceptual* context of the subject matter. In this regard the nature of man and the nature of death, as well as the relation of redemption to time, are prior questions that cannot be glossed over. As far as one can tell, Luke, like Jesus and Paul, conceives man in Old Testament terms. Man is a unified totality who may be viewed from different perspectives but who is not, e.g. a soul/body dualism.¹⁵ There is nothing in man inherently immortal or divine and, consequently, the whole man is equally subject to the power of death.¹⁶ Furthermore, the whole man is the object of

¹⁴ Flender thinks that, to solve the theological problem posed by redemption as an event in the past, Luke 'discovers a *via media* between the gnostic denial and the early catholic canonization of history' (167). 'In his humanity he [Jesus] belongs to the new period. . . . In his divinity he stands outside of any chronological scheme, sharing God's contemporaneity with all human time' (125). 'Luke has no notion of any redemptive history extending in time' (162). He escapes prolonging 'the eschatological reality of the resurrection into earthly time' (19). Flender shows no awareness of Oscar Cullmann's *Christ and Time: The Primitive Christian Conception of Time and History*, Philadelphia³ 1964 or of the issues raised in it.

¹⁵ Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, Philadelphia 1963, 24, 31–34, 40–71; E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *NBD*, 697–701; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., New York 1952, I, 168, 202f.; A. T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und ihrer Umwelt*, 2 vols., Helsinki 1944, 1946, II, 33–40. The pertinent passages are primarily carried over from Luke's sources, *ψυχή* usually means 'life' or 'self' which is lost at death. Cf. Lk 9:24; 12:19f.; Acts 2:27 (= Ps 16:10); 20:10; 27:22f. In the midrash at Acts 2:31 the parallelism of self and *σάρξ* follows the parallelism of *ψυχή* and self in the preceding quotation (Acts 2:27; cf. 13:37). Note also the parallelism of *ψυχή* and *πνεῦμα* (Lk 1:46f.), of *ψυχή* and *σῶμα* (Lk 12:22f.) and the equivalent use of *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή* for life-principle (Lk 8:55; Acts 20:10). Lk 12:20 ('your soul is required *from* [ἀπό] you') and 23:46 (cf. Acts 2:27, 31) reinforce the impression that no anthropological dualism affects Luke's handling of his traditions.

¹⁶ A number of scholars view the Aeropagus speech (Acts 17:22–31) as an exception: 'The stoic-pantheistic understanding of man in Acts 17:28 cannot be brought

God's resurrection power. This is especially pointed in Luke who, alone among the New Testament writers, specifically identifies the resurrected Jesus as σάρξ: The glorified and incorruptible one who has been exalted to heaven is a man of 'flesh and bone.'¹⁷

It is true that some groups in first-century Judaism did view man dualistically, and the parable in Lk 16:19–31 appears to presuppose that kind of background.¹⁸ Also the later patristic church, i.e. that part influenced by Greek philosophy and Gnosticism, similarly supplemented its affirmation of God's acts in history with a belief in the departure of the soul to a timeless, eternal realm at death. Indeed, this point of view continues to be prevalent in traditional and popular theology today. But such a synthesis depends upon an understanding of man and of death quite different from that found in Luke.¹⁹

into harmony with the rest of the New Testament' (Kümmel [note 15], 91f.; cf. the literature cited there). More significantly, it cannot be brought into harmony with the rest of Luke-Acts. Therefore, one must consider the possibility that Luke understands Acts 17:28 differently, or views it as an *ad hominem* argument. The quotation from Aratus should be understood in terms of the Lukan context, including the Old Testament allusions (Acts 17:24–27; cf. 14:15). Like Paul (Col 3:3), Luke speaks elsewhere (Luke 20:38 'all in him live') of a life of the righteous 'in God' (Lk 20:38) without implying a pantheistic understanding. As B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, Uppsala 1955, 167ff., has shown, Acts 17:22–31 is essentially a biblical exposition adapted to a pagan audience. See below, notes 33 and 34. The idiom used of the life of the age to come (and, in the Old Testament, of the present life, e.g. Gen 2:7; Deut 8:3) is applied in a similar way in Acts 17 to the life of this age. Cf. S. Hanson, *The Unity of the Church in the New Testament*, Uppsala 1946, 101–105.

¹⁷ Lk 24:26, 39; Acts 2:31. Cf. Heb 10:20. Luke is a precursor of a number of patristic writers and creeds that underscore the resurrection of the 'flesh.' Cf. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 1,10,1 (ἀναστήσαι πᾶσαν σάρκα πάσης ἀνθρωπότητος); Tertullian, *De Virginibus Velandis* 1 (*per carnis etiam resurrectionem*); the Apostles' Creed (σαρκὸς ἀνάστασιν, *carnis resurrectionem*); texts in Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, Vol. 2, *The Greek and Latin Creeds*, New York 1877, 14, 17, 45; further J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, New York 1959, 463, 467f., 474–479; Justin, *Dial.* 80; Lynn Boliek, *The Resurrection of the Flesh: A Study of a Confessional Phrase*, Grand Rapids 1962. Paul does not speak of the resurrection of the flesh, probably because of the theological connotation he gives to flesh as 'man under sin,' 'man under death.' But it is a mistake to set Paul's 'spiritual body' in opposition to Luke's resurrected 'flesh' or to suppose, with C. K. Barrett, 'Immortality and Resurrection,' *LQHR* 34 (1965), 99, that the phenomenon of gnosticism (e.g., the Gospel of Philip, 21ff.) 'seems to do more justice to the Pauline teaching... than do some of the more reputable patristic writers.' See below, note 34; Chapter XIII, 175–178.

¹⁸ See above, Chapter VIII, 98–102; below, Chapter X, 123–127; Ellis, *Documents* (note 2), 206. Lk 16:19–31 does not, however, pose the contrast in terms of 'body' and 'soul.'

¹⁹ Cf. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Shape of Death: Life, Death and Immortality in the Early Fathers*, New York 1961, *passim*; Rudolf Schnackenburg, *God's Rule and Kingdom*, New York 1963, 320f.; Kelly (note 17), 466–474, 482f.

The Platonic contrast of time and eternity is equally absent from Luke's eschatology, as it is from the New Testament generally.²⁰ Luke's contrast between heaven and earth is not the occasion for cosmological speculation. It is a contrast of the 'seen' and the 'unseen' which, like his anthropology, has antecedents in Paul and in the Old Testament.²¹ Important for this question is my teacher Oscar Cullmann's thesis in *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead?* It is not an isolated theme but is a significant link in Cullmann's total theology. As he rightly recognizes, a theology that includes a departure of the soul to a timeless realm or the anticipation of the parousia fulfilment at death contradicts the New Testament concept of a temporal redemption of the whole man.²²

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF LUKE'S ESCHATOLOGY

In the light of these considerations, the function of Lukan eschatology should be sought within the framework of a two-age eschatology and a monistic anthropology, a temporal redemption of the whole man from death. It is characterized by a concern to show the exclusive mediation of the eschatological fulfilment through Jesus and, thereby, to show the relationship of this age to the age to come.

In the preresurrection mission of Jesus the new age of the kingdom of God becomes present in his creative word and acts.²³ If by

²⁰ Cf. Cullmann (note 14), 51-68: 'Primitive Christianity knows nothing of a timeless God' (63). This follows from the fact that 'the speculative question . . . whether the future is future in the eyes of God, the Lord of time, does not exist at all within the province of the New Testament, for its object is only the activity of God in time' (Cullmann [note 1], 177).

²¹ Cf. W. C. van Unnik, 'Die geöffneten Himmel,' *Apophoreta* (note 11), 269-280; H. Traub, 'οὐρανός,' *TDNT* 5 (1967/1954), 513-535; Acts 7:56; 12:6-11; II Kg 6:17. Luke's conception of 'heaven' and 'earth' may be compared to two television channels showing different segments of the same auto race. The action on each is contemporaneous with and related to the other. But viewers of Channel 2 do not see the action of Channel 1.

²² O. Cullmann, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead? The Witness of the New Testament*, London 1958. Cullmann's point is not that the resurrection hope arose out of 'an anthropological debate' between Platonists and Jews (as assumed by J. Moltmann, 'Resurrection as Hope,' *HTR* 61 [1968], 131), but that the resurrection hope builds upon assumptions about man and about the dead quite different from those of Platonism. Also, it is not a question of 'immortality or resurrection' but 'immortality through resurrection.'

²³ This is not a Lukan contribution or interpretation but is original with Jesus himself, as has been shown by W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment: The Eschatological Message of Jesus*, London 1957, 106-124, 138ff. Apparently the presence of the age

the finger of God I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you (ἔφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς, Lk 11:20). Also this is the probable import of the 'coming' (ἥγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) of the kingdom in the mission of the Seventy.²⁴ By this Luke does not broaden the present manifestation of the kingdom *beyond* the word and acts of Jesus but rather expresses an identification of Jesus' followers, i.e., the Seventy, with his own person.

This explanation of the matter is supported by the way in which Luke associates Jesus with his apostles. Jesus sends (ἀποστέλλειν) them and authorizes them to speak and act in his name. He speaks of the robber on the cross as 'with me' in his exaltation.²⁵ At the Last Supper he identifies himself with bread and wine in which he invites the apostles to participate and, thereby, to 'see the eschatological consummation in the present through union with the departing Jesus.'²⁶

The 'sending' and the use of the 'name' of Jesus are almost certainly to be understood in terms of the *shaliyah* in which the agent is viewed virtually as the extension of the personality of the principal.²⁷ But the explanation of the other passages most likely lies in another Semitic concept, the corporate solidarity of the group in its leader. This is most clearly expressed in the word of the exalted Jesus to

to come (in the Gospels' presentation of the preresurrection mission) is identified with Jesus' *person* only in the Fourth Gospel. Cf. Cullmann (note 1), 270f.

²⁴ Lk 10:9; cf. 10:11, 18; see below, Chapter 11, 136n. The perfect ἥγγικεν can mean 'be at hand' (Lk 21:20). However, Luke (21:8f.; cf. 19:11) denies that the parousia consummation (τὸ τέλος) is ἥγγικεν. Both Lk 10:9, 11 and 21:8 most likely mean 'has arrived,' and the former refers, then, to a present and not to a parousia manifestation of the kingdom of God. Kümmel (note 23), 113, declines to accept this usage of ἥγγικεν; nevertheless, he admits that Lk 10:18, as an isolated logion, does refer to a present manifestation of the kingdom. But Luke (10:17, 18) clearly applies the logion to the mission of the Seventy. On the use of ἥγγικεν to mean 'has arrived,' cf. M. Black, 'The Kingdom of God has Come,' *ET* 63 (1952), 289f., who equates the term with expressions, *exempli gratia* in Ps 119:169 and I Kg 8:59 (קרב). In Jer 28:9 this meaning of ἥγγικεν (קרב) is required.

²⁵ On Lk 23:43 see below, Chapter XI, 139–145. In Lk 22:28 ('you are those who have continued with me') the perfect tense appears to indicate a previous and continuing future participation corporately 'with Christ' in his trials (πειρασμοίς) since the disciples were not personal participants either in the Temptation or in the final testings of Jesus. The alternative, that the Lord is 'with' the disciple, has a somewhat different connotation in Acts (11:21; 18:10). Corporate identification of Christ and his disciples very probably is the meaning in Mt 18:20; 25:40; cf. 28:20.

²⁶ Kümmel (note 23), 121. Cf. Lk 9:1f.; 10:1, 17f.; 22:19f., 28; 23:43.

²⁷ Cf. Lk 10:16; Ellis (note 2), 136 on Lk 9:1; K. H. Rengstorff, 'ἀπόστολος,' *TDNT* I (1964/1933), 424–430; H. Bietenhard, 'ὄνομα,' *TDNT* V (1967/1954), 276ff.: In the healings in Acts 3:16; 9:34, Jesus himself is active in the effectual power of his name. Significantly, the power is not restricted to the Twelve, and in Lk 9:49 it is perhaps effective in one who has not been 'sent.' But cf. Acts 19:13–16.

Paul, 'Why do you persecute *me*?' (Acts 9:4). But the same thought probably underlies the motif in Acts of the temple 'not made with hands.'²⁸ Unlike Paul,²⁹ Luke expresses the corporate unity of Christians with Jesus in diverse imagery, largely tied to traditional episodes and expressions. But one should not, from this fact, underestimate the importance that the concept has for him.

The identification of the eschatological fulfilment exclusively with Jesus provides the rationale by which the relationship of this age and the age to come is understood. First, the twofold eschatology of apocalyptic Judaism, that is, blessing and judgment, becomes a *two-stage eschatology*. The Spirit's activity in and through Jesus brings eschatological blessings of the coming age now, but the judgment and the consummation of the kingdom are deferred.³⁰ Similarly Jesus, 'the first to rise from the dead' (Acts 26:23), has literally become 'a son of the resurrection' who does not die anymore (Lk 20:38); for his followers the fulfilment of the age to come awaits the future consummation.³¹ It is present now, in life or death, only corporately 'with Jesus' (Lk 23:43) or 'in God' (Lk 20:38). The vertical dimension in Luke's eschatology, therefore, is not a consummation in heaven that is manifested on earth (Flender), but a consummation on earth

²⁸ Cf. Lk 20:17f.; Ellis (note 2), 230f.; Acts 6:14; 7:48; 15:16; 17:24; see above, Chapter III, 44–49; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament*, New York 1965, 103, 122, 123–142. A corporate understanding of Son of man also may be implicit in Lk 6:1–5, but it is not a Lukan development or emphasis. Cf. Dan 7:13, 27; Lk 22:27ff.; see the discussion by M. D. Hooker, *The Son of Man in Mark*, London 1967, 140, 142f., 181f., 192ff.; cf. Mt 25:31, 40 ('Son of man,' 'brothers,' 'me'). Lk 3:38 also may suggest that Luke viewed Jesus' person in a corporate fashion. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 39. Otherwise: C. F. D. Moule, *The Phenomenon of the New Testament*, London 1967, 36ff.

²⁹ The Pauline idiom 'in Christ' or 'body of Christ' does not appear although Acts 4:2 is quite similar: 'proclaiming in (ἐν) Jesus the resurrection from the dead.'

³⁰ Lk 4:18f. = Isa 61:1f., but omitting 'the day of vengeance of our God'; Lk 7:22f. Regarding the juxtaposition of the present and future manifestations of the kingdom of God, see below, Chapter XI, 146; cf. Ellis (note 2), 12–15, 210; Lk 3:16f.; 9:26b, 27; 11:2f.; 17:20ff.; 23:42f. Luke stresses that the Spirit comes to the church from Jesus (cf. Lk 3:16f.; Acts 1:5, 2:33; cf. Eph 4:8; Acts 19:2–6). Strangely enough, he, unlike Paul, appears to give the Holy Spirit no role in the eschatological event *par excellence*, the resurrection of Jesus.

³¹ Lk 14:14; 17:30–35; 20:38; 21:28; Acts 17:18; 23:6; 24:15; cf. Acts 4:2. The sequence is *not* to be understood as an individual fulfilment at death and a universal fulfilment at the future resurrection; otherwise: Barrett (note 11), 35f.; cf. M. J. Harris, *Raised Immortal*, London 1983, 100–130; C. F. D. Moule, 'St. Paul and Dualism: The Pauline Conception of Resurrection,' *NTS* 12 (1965–66), 106–123, esp. 122; Jerome on Joel 2:1–11 (*MPL*, 25, 965B, §188): 'What is in store for all at the day of judgment is fulfilled in individuals on the day of their death,' cited in Kelly (note 17), 483. See below, Chapter XIII, 165–178.

in the resurrection and exaltation of Jesus that is presently manifested in heaven. It is not a shift away from salvation history but an incorporation of a 'heavenly' dimension into it. For Jesus' followers the vertical dimension is not a road map of their individual pilgrimage but rather a relationship with the One who is in heaven 'until the times of universal ἀποκατάστασις.'³²

Second, the person and mission of Jesus define for Luke the nature of the *continuity and discontinuity* between this age and the age to come. Jesus' healings (cf. Lk 5:23f.; 13:16; Acts 26:18) and nature miracles and his own physical resurrection point to the new age as a *fulfilment*, a deliverance of the present material creation from the death-powers of this age. A similar implication probably is to be found (1) in the references to Paradise (Lk 23:43) and to Adam (Lk 3:38); (2) in the view of the consummation as a 'restoration' (Acts 1:6; 3:21); and (3) in the parallel between 'sons of the resurrection' and those of the present creation who, in their respective ways, 'live in God'³³ (Lk 20:38; Acts 17:28). Yet the kingdom of God is also a *novum* whose discontinuity with the present age is as radical as that between death and resurrection. The fate of Jesus is the fate of the disciple, who also must go 'through many tribulations' and 'lose his life' if he, like Jesus, is to become a 'son of the resurrection.'³⁴

In asking whether this kind of eschatology had a polemical function, one must resist the tendency to see an opponent behind every bush in the New Testament theological garden. Nevertheless, in his prologue Luke (1:4) probably does suggest that he is correcting heretical misinformation. The strong emphasis on the physical nature of Jesus' resurrection and the careful distinction between the resurrection and the ascension probably are intended by Luke to safeguard

³² Acts 3:21. Luke is quite clear that the consummation of this age is an earthly phenomenon. Cf. Lk 17:34f.; 21:27; Acts 1:11; 17:31.

³³ Lk 20:38, taking the ἀντὶ as a locative. See above, note 16.

³⁴ Acts 14:22; Lk 17:33; cf. Lk 20:36; 22:28–30. See above, note 16. The similarity to Paul's theology is noteworthy; cf. Rom 6:4, 10–13; Col 3:1–5, 12; see below, 148–154, 176f. Ernst Käsemann, Hans Conzelmann, Eduard Lohse, and others regard a present 'resurrection with Christ' to be a later development, i.e., in Colossians and Ephesians. However, these epistles only elaborate what is already present in Rom 6:10–13 (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς), 8:30; II Cor 13:4 (εἰς ὑμᾶς), Rom 6:11 (τῷ θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ), and Col 3:3 (σὺν τῷ Χριστῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ) appear to be equivalent expressions of the present incorporation of the believer into the reality of the new age. Cf. Gal 2:19f. (θεῷ ζήσω... ζῆ δὲ ἐν ἐμοὶ Χριστός). Cf. E. Käsemann, 'On the Topic of Primitive Christian Apocalyptic,' *Apocalypticism* 6 (1969), 118f.; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, New York 1969, 273; E. Lohse, *A Commentary on the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, Philadelphia 1971, 133f., 180f.

the resurrection against a heavenly or 'spiritual' interpretation.³⁵ Certainly this point of view does appear in the church shortly thereafter, if it is not already present. (However, the use of vertical eschatology as a bridge to the thought world of Greek philosophy, which some see in the Gospel of John and Hebrews, appears to have little significance for Luke.)³⁶ Also, the discontinuity that Luke poses between this age and the kingdom of God prevents his reader from falling prey to a political messianism. And his emphasis upon the presence of the Spirit and the unity of the disciple with the exalted Lord (Lk 23:43; Acts 2:33; 9:4) corrects an improper anticipation of the coming end of the age. To that question we may now turn.

THE TWO-STAGE MANIFESTATION OF THE KINGDOM OF GOD

Both the preaching of John the Baptist and the mission of Jesus reflect an anticipation of an imminent coming of the kingdom of God. Apocalyptic Judaism – and probably the Baptist was no different – identified this event with the catastrophic consummation of the age and the advent of the messianic age of righteousness and peace. The primitive Christian community shared this expectation with two significant alterations: (1) Christians associated this consummation with the exalted and returning Jesus, and (2) they proclaimed the kingdom of God to be a hidden present reality in their midst.³⁷ In the tradition behind the Synoptic Gospels the same understanding of the kingdom of God as a present and a future reality is ascribed to Jesus, and W. G. Kümmel has shown that both perspectives were original to the preresurrection mission: Jesus proclaimed both 'Thy kingdom come' and 'If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons, the kingdom of God has come upon you' (Mt 6:10, 12:28).³⁸

However, since the work of Johannes Weiss it has been held by many scholars that for Jesus, as it was for apocalyptic Judaism, the coming of the kingdom of God was solely an imminent future event. Its nonoccurrence became an embarrassment for the church, a prob-

³⁵ Cf. Ellis (note 2), 273–275. Cf. II Tim 2:18.

³⁶ Luke appears quite unaware of the possibilities in Lk 16:19–31 or 23:43 for a Platonist or Gnostic interpretation; probably such influences were still *in statu nascendi*. In the Fourth Gospel also, the terminology of Hellenistic philosophy is used within a biblical pattern of salvation history. Cf. Cullmann (note 14), 100, 238ff.

³⁷ E.g. I Thess 4:13–18; Phil 1:23; 3:20f.; Col 1:13; Gal 1:4. See above, note 34.

³⁸ Kümmel (note 23); idem, 'Futuristic and Realized Eschatology in the Earliest Stages of Christianity,' *JR* 43 (1963), 303–314 = GT: *Aufsätze* (note 1), I, 351–363.

lem that had to be solved. Rudolf Bultmann accepted Weiss' apocalyptic Jesus and saw in early Christianity a twofold response to his message. (1) Paul demythologized apocalyptic with an existential interpretation; (2) Luke, faced with the problem of the delay of the parousia, substituted a theology of 'salvation history'.³⁹ This pattern as it applies to Luke's eschatology was given a programmatic development in Hans Conzelmann's *The Theology of St. Luke*.⁴⁰

Oscar Cullmann regarded this work by Conzelmann as a supplement to his *Christ and Time*, a compliment that Conzelmann hardly expected! The major criticism of Cullmann (and others)⁴¹ concerned Conzelmann's historical framework in which 'salvation history' was regarded as a secondary development.⁴² Indeed, the historical framework of Bultmann and Conzelmann may be questioned on several counts. A fundamental objection is the underlying Hegelian dialectic. It provides a key, as it did for F. C. Baur in the last century, for the reconstruction of early Christian history: the original apocalyptic hope (thesis) encounters the problem of Jesus' lengthening absence (antithesis) and is resolved – in the case of Luke – with a theology of salvation history (synthesis).⁴³ But where is the evidence that the nonoccurrence of the parousia was a crucial problem that had to be 'resolved'? The delay-motif in Luke certainly does not have that function. On the contrary, Luke, unlike II Peter, usually employs it

³⁹ R. Bultmann, *Existence and Faith*, New York 1960, 124, 196ff., 238, 255ff.

⁴⁰ See above, note 2.

⁴¹ Cullmann (note 14), 46f., 181–185, 202, 240f.: 'If "Jesus" eschatology rests upon the tension between "already" and "not yet," this same tension cannot be a makeshift solution to the problem of the delayed end . . .' (181). 'What is new in Luke is that he reflects about the periods of salvation history' (240). Cf. Schnackenburg (note 19), 275.

⁴² Even though Conzelmann himself recognized that Luke only does comprehensively what earlier New Testament writings touched upon. Cf. his address to the 'alte Marburger,' 'Gegenwart und Zukunft in der synoptischen Tradition,' *ZTK* 54 (1957), 277–296, especially 289f., 296.

⁴³ Cf. H. Conzelmann, 'Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity', in Keck (note 2), 307; idem, 'Gegenwart und Zukunft in der synoptischen Tradition' (note 42), 290: though it is not a straight-line development, the different theologies in the New Testament stand in a historical relationship (i.e., of chronological sequence). Conzelmann, *Theology* (note 34), 307–317, sees in the New Testament various attempts (not only Luke's) to solve the problem of the delay of the parousia. This kind of (Hegelian) dialectic is present in F. C. Baur (cf. *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, London 1878–1879 [1853], I, 45–56, 105f., 133–136), whether he made *ab initio* use of Hegel's writings or not. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 6), 440ff. Otherwise: P. C. Hodgson, *The Formation of Historical Theology: A Study of Ferdinand Christian Baur*, New York 1966, 1–4, 25f., 58f., 139f. Note E. R. Goodenough's 'The Perspective of Acts,' *Studies in Luke-Acts* (note 2) 51–59, which cautions against the 'assumption that Christianity advanced from stage to stage as a block' (57).

to counter an overeager or false anticipation of the parousia.⁴⁴ The motif in any case could hardly have originated as a solution inspired by embarrassment or disappointment about Jesus' continued absence, since it appears before there was time to get embarrassed.⁴⁵

We may ask also: Where is the evidence for the 'apocalyptic Jesus' of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer? Undoubtedly their thesis was an advance over the 'liberal Jesus' of the nineteenth century. But in the light of the work of my teacher W. G. Kümmel and others the 'apocalyptic Jesus' also appears as a one-sided and rather artificial figure. The rationale for the delay-motif in Luke, therefore, must be sought elsewhere. First, it should be noted that it is only an emphasis within a twin motif of 'imminence and delay' that Luke finds in his traditions.⁴⁶ Probably this emphasis both serves Luke's own theological concerns and provides a response to a church problem. The problem is not the delay of the parousia, however, but a false apocalyptic speculation that has misapplied the teachings of Jesus and threatens to pervert the church's mission.

This understanding of the matter fits the historical situation. The presence of apocalyptic fever during the last half of the first century is documented both in Christian sources and in secular writings.⁴⁷ It is also supported by the Lukan context. The saying in Acts 1:6-8 is quite significant for understanding Luke's point of view: 'It is not for you to know the times . . . , but (ἀλλά) you shall receive power . . . and be my witnesses.'⁴⁸ As his second volume clearly shows, Luke sees the church's task as mission; this task is not served by pre-occupation with 'the times' of the consummation. Theologically, the delay-motif is related to the two-stage eschatology mentioned earlier. Because the eschatological reality is present, the length of the interval until the consummation is of no crucial significance.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ E.g. Lk 17:20f., 23; 19:11f., 15; 21:8; Acts 1:6-8; cf. Lk 12:39f., 45, where the delay is also not a 'time' problem but an occasion for unfaithfulness.

⁴⁵ E.g. Mt 24:26 = Lk 17:23; Mk 13:5-8 and parallels; II Thess 2:1ff. The intervening 'times of the Gentiles' (Lk 21:24), cited by Conzelmann in *The Theology of St. Luke* (note 2), 134f., as an example of the lengthened Lukan perspective is already present in Romans 11:25ff. Cf. P. Borgen, 'From Paul to Luke. Observations toward Clarification of the Theology of Luke-Acts,' *CBQ* 31 (1969), 168-182 = GT: *ST* 20 (1966), 140-157.

⁴⁶ See above, note 44; below, note 49.

⁴⁷ Cf. Josephus, *War* 6,5,4 (6,310-315); Tacitus, *History* 5,13; Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, *Vespasian* 4; II Thess 2:2.

⁴⁸ Cf. Lk 17:20.

⁴⁹ Cullmann (note 1), 290. Moore (note 1), 199f., 206, thinks that the delay-

The whole of Lukan eschatology is within the context of a two-stage manifestation of the kingdom of God, present and future. But *how* is the age-to-come present? It has been observed that Matthew couples future eschatology and the church.⁵⁰ Luke, on the other hand, combines future eschatology and the Spirit⁵¹ or Jesus.⁵² Jesus, who gives the Spirit (Lk 3:16; Acts 2:33), represents in his resurrection an individual fulfilment of the age to come. His followers not only manifest the same *eschatological powers of the Spirit* as he does, but they also have a *corporate identification with the (risen) Lord*. In both ways Luke sets forth the new age as a present reality.

A number of writers have seen in the Gospels' use of Dan 7:13f. a reference to Jesus' expectation of his exaltation.⁵³ It may be, however, that this discussion can be pursued more profitably within the framework of an eschatology whose *future* consummation also occurs in two stages, i.e. individually for Jesus and corporately for his followers at Jesus' resurrection and exaltation and individually for his followers at his parousia.⁵⁴ In any case this perspective warrants consideration in future studies of the function of eschatology in Luke.

motif served as an expression of God's patience; it was one side of a twin theme in Jesus' understanding of the future, eschatology and grace.

⁵⁰ Cf. G. Bornkamm, 'End-Expectation and Church in Matthew,' *Tradition and Interpretation in Matthew*, edd. G. Bornkamm et al., Philadelphia 1963, 15–24; G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit: Untersuchung zur Theologie des Matthäus*, Göttingen 1962, 214–217; B. Rigaux, *Témoignage de l'évangile de Matthieu*, Bruges 1967, 179–190. The corporate conception of the church is even stronger in Matthew than in (the Gospel of) Luke. It may be that in Matthew also the corporate unity with Jesus has the character of present eschatology. If so, there is in different imagery a quite similar framework of ideas.

⁵¹ I.e. the present reality of the Spirit coupled to the future judgment; Lk 3:16f.; 11:31f.; 17:21ff.

⁵² I.e. to be 'with Jesus' corporately in the present suffering or exaltation, guaranteeing individual participation in the future kingdom of God: Lk 22:28ff.; 23:43.

⁵³ M. Hooker, 'The Son of Man and the Synoptic Problem,' *The Four Gospels 1992. FS F. Neirynck*, 3 vols., edd. F. Van Segbroeck et al., Leuven 1992, I, 195f.; idem (note 28), 171–173. Somewhat similar, N. T. Wright, *Jesus and the Victory of God*, London 1996, 340–346, 524–527, who thinks that 'the Temple's destruction [by the Romans in AD 70] would constitute [Jesus'] own vindication, 'his "coming" as the vindicated, rightful king' (342); H. W. Bartsch, 'Early Christian Eschatology in the Synoptic Gospels: A Contribution to Form-Critical Research,' *NTS* 11 (1964–1965), 394f., who thinks that the fulfilment of Dan 7:13, for the primitive church, could correspond to 'the appearance of the risen Lord' and that Luke (22:69) reflects a shift of this fulfilment to the exaltation.

⁵⁴ The ascension tradition in Acts 1:9ff. makes an explicit connection between the 'cloud' of the ascension and Jesus' return 'in the same way.'

CHAPTER TEN

ESCHATOLOGY IN LUKE REVISITED

The scholarly discussion has continued to focus largely on the two issues raised in the preceding chapter.¹ (1) Was Luke's 'salvation history' introduced to resolve a problem of a delay in the parousia, and (2) did his vertical eschatology represent a shift from apocalyptic categories to a Platonic dualism in which the individual 'soul' receives salvation at death?

TWO VIEWS OF THE 'INTERMEDIATE STATE'

In the late sixties the thesis that Luke substituted salvation history for eschatology was probably the dominant, if disputed, view.² While it still has a number of followers,³ it is widely considered today to belong to the history of research. As 'the classic theory,'⁴ it provides the backdrop for most current discussions but is no longer, I think, the base point from which they proceed. What are the reasons for this change of perspective, and what alternative reconstructions are bidding for acceptance?

The classic theory, propounded at mid-century, failed to convince

¹ See above, Chapter IX, 108–112, 116–119.

² Its most influential advocate was H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of Luke*, London 1960 ('1953, '1977). For assessments of subsequent research cf. F. Bovon, *Luke the Theologian. Thirty-three Years of Research (1950–1983)*, Allison Park PA 1987, 9–81 = FT: 11–84, and J. Ernst, *Herr der Geschichte. Perspektiven der lukanischen Eschatologie*, Stuttgart 1978. They offer good summaries of the thesis, reactions to it and alternative proposals. Professor Ernst provided perhaps the most perceptive presentation of the issues to be written in the seventies.

³ E.g. G. Strecker, *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, Berlin 1996, 412–438; E. Grässer, 'Die Parusieerwartung in der Apostelgeschichte,' *Les Actes des Apôtres*, ed. J. Kremer, Gembloux 1979, 99–127; G. Klein, 'Eschatologie: Neues Testament,' *TRE* 10 (1982), 270–299, 292ff.

⁴ The designation given by R. Maddox, *The Purpose of Luke-Acts*, Edinburgh 1983, 21987, 100. He offered the best assessment of studies in Lukan eschatology (100–157) to appear in the eighties. Cf. also, especially for American contributors, Beverly R. Gaventa, 'The Eschatology of Luke-Acts Revisited,' *Encounter* 43:1 (1982), 27–42. For an earlier brief critique of the classic theory cf. W. W. Gasque, *A History of the Criticism of the Acts of the Apostles*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1975, 286–297.

the following generation for several reasons. (1) It identified the coming of the kingdom of God solely with the end of the present age. When it was demonstrated that Jesus taught both the future coming of the kingdom of God and also its presence in his own ministry,⁵ a principal basis on which the theory rested was undermined. This change in the understanding of the eschatology of Jesus inevitably affected the understanding of the eschatology of Luke. (2) A second foundation crumbled with the increasing recognition that, while the 'delay' of the parousia was a problem for early twentieth-century scholars, there was no evidence that it posed any discernable problem for the first-century church. (3) The classic theory was also unable to explain why Luke retained many admonitions of Jesus about an unexpected return of the Son of Man at any time,⁶ some addressed to Jesus' hearers in the second person.⁷

The subsequent discussion has pursued these questions. Re the time of the parousia, some suppose that Luke gave two inconsistent answers, teaching a 'delayed' parousia to those with an over-eager anticipation and a 'soon' parousia for the morally lax, the doubters and those under persecution.⁸ But would Luke be unaware that the over-eager Christians would fasten on the 'soon' passages and the morally lax notice the 'delay'? Others argue, more perceptively, that

⁵ The decisive work was W. G. Kümmel's *Promise and Fulfilment*, London 1957 (1945); cf. idem, *Dreissig Jahre Jesusforschung (1950-1980)*, Bonn 1985. Further cf. Ruthild Geiger, *Die lukanischen Endzeitreden*, Frankfurt 1973, 149-158; G. E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future*, Grand Rapids 1975, 149-217; O. Merk, 'Das Reich Gottes in den lukanischen Schriften,' *Jesus und Paulus. FS W. G. Kümmel*, edd. E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer, Tübingen 1975, 201-220; B. Chilton, ed. *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, London 1984. Chilton regards the presence of the future kingdom of God in Jesus' ministry as the current 'eschatological consensus' (15f., 20) although his own view seems to approach the 'spiritual' kingdom of God of nineteenth-century liberalism. On the background cf. O. Cullmann, *Salvation in History*, London 1967, 28-47 = GT: 10-29; E. E. Ellis, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids 1979, 32ff. See above, 116-119.

⁶ E.g. Lk 12:32, 35f., 45f.; 17:26-37; 18:1-8; perhaps, Lk 13:35; Acts 17:30f. In Lk 19:11-27 those who are present when 'the nobleman went to receive a kingdom' are the ones who received rewards or punishments upon his return. Somewhat differently, G. Schneider, *Parousiegleichnisse im Lukasevangelium*, Stuttgart 1975, 91, cited in R. Schnackenburg, 'Die lukanischen Eschatologie im Lichte von Aussagen der Apostelgeschichte,' *Glaube und Eschatologie. FS W. G. Kümmel*, edd. E. Grässer and O. Merk, Tübingen 1985, 252.

⁷ Lk 12:40; 13:28, 34f.; 21:31-36; perhaps, Acts 3:19-21: 'Repent . . . so that . . . [God] may send the Messiah appointed for you, Jesus' (20).

⁸ E.g. S. G. Wilson, *The Gentiles and the Gentile Mission in Luke-Acts*, Cambridge UK 1973, 82-87; A. J. Mattill, *Luke and the Last Things*, Dillsboro NC 1979, 234f. Cf. A. George, *Etudes sur l'oeuvre de Luc*, Paris 1978, 345.

the problem was not a 'delay' of the parousia but false anticipations of its immediacy.⁹ While countering this misunderstanding, Luke held fast to a sudden parousia of Jesus at any time or generation.¹⁰ What rationale underlies this twofold eschatological emphasis?

Like Jesus, Luke sets no chronological deadlines¹¹ and apparently places the parousia after the fulfilment of 'the times of the Gentiles',¹² that is, after the completion of the Gentile mission,¹³ which in Luke's day was only just beginning.¹⁴ At the same time he traditions warnings of Jesus that the final judgment will be 'speedy' (ἐν τάχει) and that his hearers will 'stand before the Son of Man'.¹⁵ On what rationale is Luke able to hold together these two apparently inconsistent historical perspectives? Two answers have been offered, both of which are rooted in Luke's understanding of the nature of man. The first (1), based upon a body/soul dualism quite traditional in the church, supposes that in Luke's view the person's true self (his 'soul') experiences an 'individual parousia' at death but that the universal consummation of salvation awaits the public parousia of Christ.¹⁶ A second answer (2), based upon an Old Testament monistic view of man, focuses the consummation of salvation for the individual, no

⁹ Noticeable, e.g., in his emphases and in the interpretation of his sources in Lk 17:20f.; 19:11; 21:8f.; cf. 24:21 with Acts 1:6-8.

¹⁰ Cf. Schnackenburg (note 6), 261-264. The decade that best fits such an atmosphere of a heightened expectation of Messiah's immediate return was AD 60-70. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 24f., 318; B. Reicke, *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*, Philadelphia 1986, 136ff., 174-180.

¹¹ Also not at Lk 9:27; 21:32. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke. Revised Edition*, Grand Rapids 1996 (1974), 140f., 246f. I would understand Lk 9:27 to refer both to the Transfiguration and to the action of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost (Acts 2:33) but not to the parousia, and I am now inclined to interpret 'this generation' (Lk 21:32) as that unknown future generation of the final cataclysmic events culminating in the appearance of the Son of Man (Lk 21:25-28). 'According to the grammatical evidence, we must insist on "until" (RSV, "before") being given its full meaning here [in Mk 9:1 = Lk 9:27]. There are no grounds in grammatical usage for taking the preposition ἕως ἄν in any other way. The ordinary sense of "until" or "before" they see the Kingdom of God come with power is that after this event there is no reason why those referred to should not die' (W. Strawson, *Jesus and the Future Life*, London 1959, 73).

¹² Cf. Lk 21:25-28 with Lk 21:24.

¹³ Lk 24:47; Acts 1:6-8; cf. Mt 24:14.

¹⁴ Cf. J. Jervell, 'The Divided People of God,' *Luke and the People of God*, Minneapolis 1972, 63; *ibid.*, *The Unknown Paul*, Minneapolis 1984, 16-25. But I do not agree with Jervell that Acts represents a post-AD 70 situation in the church.

¹⁵ Lk 18:8; 21:34ff.

¹⁶ Especially, J. Dupont, 'Die individuelle Eschatologie im Lukasevangelium und in der Apostelgeschichte,' *Orientierung an Jesus. FS J. Schmid*, ed. P. Hoffmann, Freiburg BRD 1973, 37-47. Also see below, 177, note 65; above, 108ff.

less than for the church as a whole, upon the bodily resurrection of the dead at the return of Christ. Like Paul, Luke views the believer, in life and death, as living corporately as an extension of Christ's person, alive 'in God' and 'with Christ.'¹⁷ But he recognizes that at death the whole person dies and experiences a (to his consciousness, momentary) hiatus in his individual life until the resurrection at the last day.

Both views resolve in some measure the problem of Luke's twofold perspective, the 'imminence' and the 'distance' of the consummation. They both leave the parousia of Christ in the unknown future. The first view (1) affirms that momentarily after death the individual believer will experience a departure and bliss of the 'soul' in a timeless realm (view 1) or, on the model of Christ and with no consciousness of a time-interval, the immortal resurrection¹⁸ of his whole being at the last day of the present age (view 2). But the two views rest upon radically different assumptions about the nature of man, of death and of salvation.

ANTHROPOLOGY AND ESCHATOLOGY

The Judaism of 200 BC–AD 100 entertained various views of the nature of man and of death.¹⁹ Some believed that individual life for the righteous and wicked alike ended at death, either with²⁰ or without²¹ the prospect of a future resurrection. Others, influenced by a Platonist view of man, held that the essential person ('the soul') survived the death of the body and immediately received rewards or

¹⁷ Acts 9:4f. (μέ); Lk 20:38 (πάντες αὐτῷ ζῶσιν, 'all in him live'); Lk 22:28, 23:43; cf. Rom 6:9ff. (ζῶντας τῷ θεῷ); 8:29f.; Gal 2:19f. (θεῷ ζήσω); Eph 2:5f.; Col 3:3f. (ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν . . . ἐν τῷ θεῷ). The datives have a locative force, denoting a sphere of existence. Cf. A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, Marburg 1892, esp. 36–49, 52–56 (Hebrew equivalents: ב, et cetera).

¹⁸ Cf. Lk 20:36; Acts 2:23–36; Lk 24:26 with Acts 14:22; cf. Rom 6:9ff.; 8:17; II Tim 2:12.

¹⁹ (H. L. Strack and) P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols., München 1922–28, IV, 1016–1165; P. Volz, *Die Eschatologie der jüdischen Gemeinde im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Hildesheim 1966 (²1934), 117–121, 229–272, 404ff.; D. S. Russell, *The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic*, London 1964, 140–157, 353–390; G. W. E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism*, Cambridge MA 1972.

²⁰ II Macc 7:9–29; IV Ezra 7:32–37 (cf. Dan 12:2); probably, Wis 2:23–3:8; 4:7 (cf. A. T. S. Goodrich, *The Book of Wisdom*, London 1913, 388–398, on Wis 3:1–7).

²¹ A view opposed in I Enoch 102:6–11; Wis 2:1–5.

punishments. In the midst of this diversity, to determine Luke's view 'the decisive question . . . is not the background but the exegesis of Luke's own text.'²²

The crucial issues are the significance (1) of certain anthropological terms – πνεῦμα, ψυχή, νοῦς, ἰσχύς, καρδιά, (2) of certain death and after-death scenes, (3) of more explicit teachings about death and (4) the implications of the interpretation of these matters for the whole of Luke's christology and of his doctrine of salvation.

1. If Luke's anthropological terms are read through Platonic lenses,²³ they can be forcibly conformed to a body/soul dualism. Read in context, they usually represent the self, looked at from different perspectives. Thus, spirit (πνεῦμα) is synonymous with soul (ψυχή, Lk 1:47) and the soul with body (σῶμα, Lk 12:22). In Acts 2:26f. (= Ps 16:9f.), 31 the same is probably true of soul and flesh (σάρξ):

'My flesh shall rest (κατασκηνώσει) in hope
Because you will not leave my soul in the grave (εἰς ᾗδην)²⁴
You will not give your holy one to see corruption . . .'
[David] spoke . . . of Christ
Because neither was he left in the grave (εἰς ᾗδην)
Nor did his flesh see corruption

In this quotation and commentary the 'flesh,' the 'soul' and the person are interchangeable expressions.

The term, ψυχή, is also used by Luke with the meaning 'life' or essential life principle that is (only) at God's disposal. It can be taken away at death or finally lost at the parousia of the Son of Man.²⁵ Πνεῦμα ('spirit') is used similarly when the dead girl's 'life' returns²⁶

²² Maddox (note 4), 103.

²³ So, throughout, R. H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids ²1987. He even interprets 'spirit' in Eccl 12:7 and 'soul' in Job 13:14 as 'that part of man' which survives the death of the 'body' (123–126).

²⁴ *Hades* is used in its Old Testament sense. Sheol (שְׁאוֹל = ᾗδης) is where at death one's whole self (שָׁמַיִם = ψυχή) goes bodily (Gen 44:29; Num 16:33f.; I Sam 2:6; Ps 31:17f.; Jonah 2:2). In a word it is the grave, where the maggots and worms feed (Job 17:13ff.; Isa 14:11), or in poetic imagery a kind of mass grave (Isa 14:9f.; Ezek 31–32) swallowing up the dying (Isa 5:14; Hab 2:5). Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel*, 4 vols. in 2, London 1959 (1926), I–II, 460ff.

²⁵ Lk 12:20: 'God said . . . In this night your life (ψυχήν) is required from you' (ἀπαιτοῦσιν ἀπὸ σοῦ); 9:24ff.: 'Whoever loses his life (ψυχήν) will save it . . .'; 21:16, 18f.: 'They will kill (some) of you . . ., but not a hair of your hair will perish: by your endurance you will gain your lives' (ψυχάς). Lk 9:24ff. contrasts the present age with the future parousia. See above, 115; Lk 17:33; below, 133ff.

²⁶ Lk 8:55. So also, Acts 20:10: 'His "life" (ψυχή) is in him.' These terms, used

or when Jesus commends his expiring 'life' to God.²⁷ These anthropological terms, as used by Luke, neither suggest nor are compatible with a body/soul or body/spirit dualism or with a perception of man as an 'embodied soul.' They reflect, rather, the Old Testament conception of man as an 'animated body' who lives and dies as a totality.²⁸

2. The death and after-death scenes in Luke-Acts are, with one exception,²⁹ in accord with this conception. When the dead are raised, it is the corpse that is addressed as the person: 'Young man, wake up' (ἐγέρθητι).³⁰ When the apostles mistake the resurrected Jesus for a 'spirit,' he corrects them: 'It is I myself. Handle me and see, for a spirit does not have flesh and bones' (Lk 24:39). 'Spirit' is here not a surviving part of Jesus' person, certainly not Jesus' ego but, like Peter's angel in Acts 12:15, his angelic counterpart or his 'double-ganger' that was widely thought to exist for every person.³¹

3. Jesus' most explicit teaching about the death state is his proof for the resurrection in the debate with the Sadducees.³² Jesus argues that (1) Moses called God the God of Abraham after he was dead (agreed) but that (2) God is not the God of the dead (agreed). If so, Jesus concludes, (3) God must raise Abraham from the dead since only in that prospect can God be his God. The argument proceeds on an Old Testament, Sadducean and (probably) Qumranian view

as animating power, are no more a 'part' of the person than gasoline is 'part' of an auto. Cf. Jdg 15:18f.; I Kg 17:21f.; Job 10:12; Gen 2:7 with 3:19.

²⁷ Lk 23:46 (Ps 31:5 [6]); similarly, Acts 7:59f. Cf. Gen 7:22f.; Ps 104:29f.; 146:4; Eccl 12:7 with 3:19f.; Job 34:14f.

²⁸ Cf. B. R. Reichenbach, 'Resurrection of the body, Re-Creation and Interim Existence,' *JTSA* 21 (1977), 33–42; H. W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, Oxford 1946, 69f.; E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *NBD*, 697–701 = *Illustrated Bible Dictionary*, 3 vols., ed. N. Hillyer, Leicester UK and Wheaton IL 1980, II, 901–904; E. H. Marly, 'Man and Nature in the Old Testament,' *Man, Culture and Religion*, ed. C. J. Bleeker, Rome 1970, 301–315, 304: The picture of God as a potter is 'determined by the conception of man as clay,' D. R. G. Owen, *Body and Soul*, Philadelphia 1956, 180–197. Further, see below, 165–171.

²⁹ Lk 16:19–31. But, as Maddox (note 4), 103, has suggested, the parable is no more representative of Luke's (or Jesus') theological viewpoint than an illustration about St. Peter at 'the pearly gates' is representative of the eschatology of a present-day preacher. Cf. Ellis (note 11), 200ff., 205f.

³⁰ Lk 7:14; cf. 8:52, 55; Acts 9:40. On this use of ἐγείρειν cf. Mt 1:24; 2:13, 20; Mk 4:27; Rom 13:11; Eph 5:14.

³¹ Cf. Billerbeck (note 19), II, 707f.; further, W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Tübingen 1966, 324. Perhaps also Mt 18:10.

³² Lk 20:27–40; cf. Ellis (note 11), 234–237. See above, 96–104.

of death,³³ and on a dualistic view it loses all force. If Abraham's 'soul' is still living, no resurrection would be necessary for God to be his God.

What then of Luke's (20:38) addition, πάντες αὐτῷ ζῶσιν (Lk 20:38)? It may be translated (1) 'all live with reference to him [God],' (2) 'all in covenant relation to him live' or (3) 'all in him live.' The first two, the dative of reference and of relation,³⁴ are the traditional and most popular interpretations and usually understood, in accordance with IV Macc 7:19 (ζῶσιν τῷ θεῷ), to teach the continuing life of 'the soul' after death. However, the third translation, a dative-locative of sphere,³⁵ is to be preferred. (1) It finds a very close parallel in Paul's teaching on the believer's corporate existence, in life or death,³⁶ with Christ and in God: 'Your life is hidden . . . in God' (ἡ ζωὴ ὑμῶν . . . ἐν τῷ θεῷ).³⁷ (2) It is similar to Luke's teaching with reference to all mankind that in the present mortal life also 'we live in [God]' (ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν),³⁸ and (3) it accords with Luke's view elsewhere of the believer's corporate existence 'with Christ' or as a corporate expression of Christ's person.³⁹

It has been objected that this interpretation of Lk 20:38 puts Luke

³³ See above, 100–103; 1 QH 3:23f. = 11:23f.; 1 QS 11:20–22 with 1 QH 6:29f., 34 = 14:29f., 34, 4 Q 521. Cf. E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, edd. *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah* [4QMMT = *DJD* 10], Oxford 1994, 116–121; L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, New York 1995, 156f. Otherwise: Nickelsburg (note 19), 144–167.

³⁴ Cf. J. H. Moulton–N. Turner, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1908–1976, III, 239f.

³⁵ Cf. A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, New York 1914, 520–525; A. T. Robertson–W. H. Davis, *A New Short Grammar of the Greek Testament*, New York 1933, 235ff. Luke uses the locative elsewhere without a preposition; cf. Lk 3:16; 10:21, 30; 12:20; Acts 7:8; 9:31; 14:16, 22; 16:5; 18:25; 20:22; 21:21.

³⁶ II Cor 5:1; Eph 2:6; I Thess 5:10. See below, 148–154, 171–178. Cf. G. G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians*, Grand Rapids 1982 (1904), 117ff.; Deissmann (note 17), 81.

³⁷ Col 3:3; cf. II Cor 5:1; I Thess 5:10. Also, probably, Rom 6:11: 'Living in God through Jesus Christ'; 14:8: 'We live in the Lord'; Gal 2:19: 'That I might live in God'; cf. II Tim 3:12: 'To live in Christ Jesus.' The corporate life 'in God' is contrasted with living 'in the flesh' (Gal 2:20; Phil 1:22), 'in sin' (Rom 6:2), 'in the world' or its life style (Col 2:20; 3:7) and, similarly, existence 'in Christ' is contrasted with existence 'in Adam' (I Cor 15:22) or 'in sin' (Rom 6:1) or 'in the [Adamic] body of flesh' (Col 2:11). Cf. Deissmann (note 17), 81.

³⁸ Acts 17:28, rendering Paul's Areopagus speech. The thought is not Stoic but Pauline and Hebraic. Cf. B. Gärtner, *The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation*, Uppsala 1955, 179–198.

³⁹ Cf. Lk 22:19f. with 22:28ff.; Lk 23:43 (cf. Eph 2:6); Acts 9:4; cf. 4:2. See below, 139–145 (on Lk 23:42f.).

‘on a Pauline wavelength.’⁴⁰ But what is the better historical method, to interpret Luke (1) in terms of an apostle who was his hero and with whom he worked and traveled or (2) in terms of the author of IV Maccabees, a Jewish Platonist philosopher who had little or nothing in common with Luke, rejected outright the strong Lukan conviction of resurrection⁴¹ and whose writing Luke may never even have heard of?

4. The Platonic view that the essential person (soul/spirit) survives physical death has serious implications for Luke’s christology and for his theology of salvation in history. For christology it finds its logical outcome, for example, in a Gnostic exegesis of Lk 23:46: The earthly man died, ‘but [Jesus] himself, yielding the spirit into the hands of the Father, ascended to the Good One.’⁴² For eschatology it represents a Platonizing of the Christian hope, a redemption *from* time and matter. Luke, on the contrary, places individual salvation (and loss) at the resurrection *in* time and matter at the last day.⁴³ He underscores that Jesus was resurrected in ‘the flesh’⁴⁴ and makes him ‘the first to rise from the dead,’ the model on which all ‘entering into glory’ is to be understood.⁴⁵

An anthropological dualism did enter the thought of the Patristic church, chiefly, I suppose, with the grandiose synthesis of Christianity and Greek philosophy made by Clement and Origen.⁴⁶ It brought into eclipse the early Christian hope of the return of Christ and the resurrection of the dead. But it did not characterize the Christianity of the New Testament⁴⁷ and can be found in Luke only if one reads the texts, as those Christian fathers did, with lenses ground in Athens.

⁴⁰ I. H. Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke*, Exeter 1978, 743; cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel According to Luke*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1985, II, 1301.

⁴¹ Cf. H. Anderson, ‘4 Maccabees,’ *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, 2 vols., ed. J. H. Charlesworth, Garden City NY 1985, II, 539. Scholars date IV Maccabees variously between c. 63 BC and AD 120 (533f.).

⁴² Hippolytus, *Refutation* 5, 26, 32 (= 5, 21, 32); cf. Clement, *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 1, 1; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 1, 26, 1; R. M. Grant, *Gnosticism*, London 1961, 41, 99.

⁴³ E.g. Lk 9:24ff.; 11:31f.; 14:14; 20:34f. O. Cullmann’s *Christ and Time* (London 1952) remains instructive here (especially 231ff.).

⁴⁴ Lk 24:39; Acts 2:25–31; 13:35ff.

⁴⁵ Cf. Lk 24:26 with Acts 14:22; Acts 4:2 (‘the resurrection of the dead in Jesus’); 26:8 (ἡ ἀνάστασις), 23. Cf. I Cor 15:21f.; H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles*, Philadelphia 1987, 32 = GT: 35, and J. R. Lumby, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Cambridge UK 1920, 120f. (on Acts 4:2). Cf. I Thess 4:14.

⁴⁶ Cf. A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols. in 4, New York 1961 (c. 31900), II, 319–380, 377f.; R. B. Tollinton, *Clement of Alexandria*, 2 vols., London 1914, II, 249–259.

⁴⁷ Cf. Owen (note 28); W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, London 1963. See below, 165–171.

CONCLUSION

For Luke it is the person of Jesus who binds together horizontal and vertical eschatology. He not only makes present the future kingdom of God in his earthly ministry but also, from his exalted status at the right hand of God, continues through the Holy Spirit to mediate to his people on earth the kingdom realities that have been consummated in his own individual person.⁴⁸ His gifting of the Holy Spirit, bringing 'seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord,' represents an individualizing of a part of the eschatological realities during the interim until God sends Christ at the final consummation for the restoration of all things.⁴⁹ This vertical and individual eschatology is quite different, however, from Platonic conceptions.⁵⁰ The movement is from heaven to earth, not from earth to heaven; and its presence a foretaste of the coming transfiguration of the natural creation, not a deliverance from it.⁵¹

With his christological eschatology and his Old Testament monistic anthropology Luke was able to incorporate a vertical dimension into his horizontal salvation history and to retain an anticipation for the parousia of Jesus while leaving the time of its chronological occurrence in the hands of God.

⁴⁸ Acts 1:4f.; 2:33; cf. Lk 12:32; 22:28ff. with 23:42f.; 24:49; Ernst (note 2), 35ff.

⁴⁹ Acts 3:19–21; cf. C. K. Barrett, 'Faith and Eschatology in Acts 3,' in Grässer (note 6), 9–13; A. Oepke, 'ἀποκατάστασις,' *TDNT* 1 (1964/1933), 391f.

⁵⁰ *Pace* Barrett (note 49); N. Walter, "'Hellenistische Eschatologie" im Neuen Testament,' in Grässer (note 6), 335–356.

⁵¹ Acts 3:21 (ἀποκατάστασις); cf. Acts 1:6; Mt 19:28; Rom 8:18–23; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Grand Rapids ²1990, 144.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

PRESENT AND FUTURE ESCHATOLOGY IN LUKE

Professor W. G. Kümmel's *Promise and Fulfilment* marked a permanent advance in the understanding of the eschatological teaching of Jesus.¹ Going beyond the 'realized' eschatology of C. H. Dodd² and the 'futurist' eschatology of J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer, Kümmel demonstrated that for Jesus the kingdom of God was both a present reality and an imminent future expectation. The present chapter examines several texts in Luke in which the present and future manifestations of the kingdom are set in juxtaposition. It is hoped that this will illuminate the Evangelist's understanding of an important theme as it is related to other Gospel traditions and to the proclamation of Jesus.

The pairing of present and future perspectives observable in Luke is itself noteworthy. A few times it represents Markan or Q traditions. Often it is a tradition peculiar to the third Gospel or is the result of Lukan alterations of the material. The latter is evident especially in the structure of certain Lukan episodes.

LUKE 3:16-17

In the account of the ministry of the Baptist, Lk 3:16f. has the following:

(16) John answered them all 'I baptize you (ὕδατος) with water; but he who is mightier than I is coming, the thong of whose sandals I am not worthy to untie; he will baptize you (ὕδατος) with the Holy Spirit

¹ W. G. Kümmel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, London 1957, 141-155; idem, 'Eschatological Expectation in the Proclamation of Jesus,' *The Kingdom of God*, ed. B. Chilton, Philadelphia 1984, 36-51. Cf. G. E. Ladd, *The Presence of the Future*, Grand Rapids 1984.

² Since *The Apostolic Preaching and its Developments* (London 1936, 84-87) Professor Dodd himself has gone beyond 'realized eschatology.' In *The Second Coming of Christ* (Cambridge 1951, 17), for example, he recognizes an expectation of a final consummation in Jesus' teaching. However, since it is 'beyond history,' it is doubtful that Dodd allows for a 'future' eschatology any more than before. Cf. G. Lundström, *The Kingdom of God in the Teaching of Jesus*, Richmond 1963, 250.

and with fire. (17) His winnowing fork is in his hand, to clear his threshing floor, and to gather the wheat into his granary, but the chaff he will burn with unquenchable fire.'

Lk 3:16 appears with some differences of order and wording in Mk 1:7–8. But it is clear that Luke depends most upon a Q tradition that includes 3:17 (cf. Mt 3:11–12). The eschatological perspective of the saying depends in some measure on the interpretation given to the phrase, ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ πυρί. It is generally agreed that in the Synoptic tradition it and the shorter Markan phrase, πνεύματι ἁγίῳ, refer to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the disciples of Jesus. Luke elsewhere ascribes to Jesus a prophecy similar to the Markan form of the saying.³

Since the Evangelists provide the only available context for the Baptist's teaching, their interpretation would appear to give the best clue to his intention. That is, the Baptist expected the mightier one, the Messiah, to give his followers (ὑμᾶς) a redemptive 'spirit baptism' as a sequel to his own 'baptism of repentance' (Mk 1:4; Lk 3:3). However, following Wellhausen, most commentators take the original reference to be the fire⁴ or wind and fire (πνεύματι καὶ πυρί)⁵ of destructive judgment. Supporting this interpretation is the fact that in the Old Testament fire is a frequent symbol of such judgment and is used in this way in the present context.⁶ Also, in the New Testament description of Jesus' death we find baptism as a symbol of annihilation (*Vernichtung*).⁷ Furthermore, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, promised in the messianic age, was not viewed as a specific act of Messiah.⁸

³ Acts 1:5; 11:16. The Fourth Gospel, which like Mark and Acts omits 'in fire,' has the same meaning. Cf. Jn 1:33; 7:39; 20:22.

⁴ J. Wellhausen, *Das Evangelium Matthaei*, Berlin 1904, 6; B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels*, London 1927, 206; J. M. Creed, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, London 1930, 54; R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, New York 1963 (21931), 111n; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus*, London 1949, 41; V. Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark*, London 1959, 157; C. F. Evans, *Saint Luke*, London 1990, 243; R. H. Stein, *Luke*, Nashville 1992, 134f.; cf. C. H. Kraeling, *John the Baptist*, New York 1951, 58–64, 114–118. Otherwise: D. Bock, *Luke*, 2 vols., Grand Rapids 1996, I, 332f.

⁵ C. K. Barrett, *The Holy Spirit and the Gospel Tradition*, London 21958, 126. Otherwise: I. H. Marshall, *Luke*, Exeter UK 1978, 147f.; J. A. Fitzmyer, *The Gospel according to Luke*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1985, I, 473f.

⁶ Lk 3:17; cf. Isa. 31:9; 66:15; Amos 7:4.

⁷ Bultmann (note 4).

⁸ Taylor (note 4). This objection carries weight only on the supposition that John could say nothing new; for this teaching is presented as at the core of the Baptist's message. One cannot rule out the possibility, moreover, that for the Qumran sect

These arguments appear to be more probable than they really are. It is doubtful, for example, that Jesus (much less the Synoptic tradition) viewed his approaching 'baptism' of death as annihilation. It was rather the supreme test that would issue in resurrection-victory.⁹

Thus, in Mk 10:38f. participation in Jesus' 'baptism' is the condition of sharing his future glory; similarly, in Lk 12:50 a baptism to be 'finished' (τελειοθῆναι) does not mean the finish of Jesus. It is only half the story, therefore, to say that in these texts baptism means 'destructive judgment.' In secular writings βαπτίζειν sometimes does connote disaster.¹⁰ But the New Testament and the Septuagint give little support to this meaning.

The serious issue is raised by the whole clause, 'will baptize in (or with) fire' (βαπτίσει πυρί), since fire is used regularly as a symbol of destructive judgment. But the term also signifies holiness and redemptive judgment, a refining or a cleansing. And it is perhaps significant that in several eschatological passages fire is used in both senses in the same general context: a fire of destruction is contrasted with a fire of cleansing.

On that day I will make the clans of Judah like a blazing (שֹׁר) pot in the midst of wood, like a flaming (שֹׁר) torch among sheaves; and they shall devour. . . . And I will put this third into the fire (שֹׁר) and refine them as one refines silver (Zech 12:6; 13:9).

For he is like a refiner's fire (שֹׁר) and like fuller's soap; . . . he will purify the sons of Levi and refine them like gold. . . .

For behold, the day comes, burning (בֶּעָר; καίονμένη) like an oven . . . ; the day that comes shall burn (לִהְיוֹת) them up . . . (Mal 3:2f; 3:19 = 4:1).

A similar passage may set in juxtaposition a fire of destructive judgment and a fire of the glorious presence of God.¹¹

the eschatological gift of a holy spirit was an act of Messiah. Cf. M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London 1961, 135; 1QS 4:21; *Test. Levi* 18:11.

⁹ Bultmann ([note 4], 24, 153f.) admits as much. He regards Mk 10:38f. as 'a clear *vaticinium ex eventu*' in which 'the way to exaltation lies through martyrdom.' For him Lk 12:49f. also is a construction of the church, perhaps a Gnostic motif in which a destructive 'fire' on earth corresponds to the Spirit's baptismal anointing of the Redeemer in heaven.

¹⁰ Cf. W. Bauer, K. and B. Aland, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der frühchristlichen Literatur*, Berlin 1988, 265f.

¹¹ In the Old Testament and Judaism fire is a rather common symbol or description of divine or angelic glory. Cf. F. Lang, 'πῦρ,' *TDNT* 6 (1968), 934ff. Cf. Exod 19:18; II Kgs 6:17; Ps 54:4; Enoch 14:9ff.

When the Lord shall have washed (רָחַץ) away the filth of the daughters of Zion . . . by a spirit of burning (בְּעֵר).¹² Then the Lord will create over the whole site of Mt. Zion . . . the shining of a flaming fire (שֹׁהַ) by night (Isa. 4:4f.).

This pattern seems to be present in Acts 2:3, 19 where the fire is used to describe both the presence of divine glory and the presence of God in destruction.¹³ In the light of the above examples¹⁴ there is little reason to insist that for the Baptist, in contrast to the post-Pentecost Church, baptism 'in (spirit and) fire' meant destructive judgment. Indeed, it appears somewhat arbitrary to interpret the saying so at variance with its synoptic meaning without any special sanction in Jewish tradition for doing so.¹⁵

The equation, water/fire = wheat/chaff, is attractive at first reading. But most likely it is mistaken. Probably there is in this passage a similar phenomenon to that observed above. Fire is used in a twofold sense to indicate God's redemptive cleansing (Lk 3:16) and his destructive judgment (Lk 3:17). For the Q tradition this is made explicit by the coupling of 'holy spirit and fire.' In any case this explanation is appropriate whatever the original wording may have been.¹⁶

¹² That is, Israel will be 'winnowed,' cleansed and refined by the destruction of evil-doers. Cf. G. B. Gray, *The Book of Isaiah*, New York 1912, I, 80. Possibly, however, it is a cleansing fire signifying only 'das Wunder des Umwandlung sündiger Menschen' (W. Eichrodt, *Der Heilige in Israel*, Stuttgart 1960, 64. Cf. Exod 3:2; Sanh. 39a; J. A. Motyer, *The Prophecy of Isaiah*, Leicester UK 1993, 66.

¹³ Cf. Mk 9:48f.; Rev 19:12, 20. 'Blood and fire' (Acts 2:19) may indicate only general disaster (J. A. Brewer, *Obadiah and Joel*, New York 1911, 123f.). More likely the phrase alludes to the plagues of the Exodus (H. W. Wolff, *Joel and Amos*, Philadelphia 1977, 68; A. Weiser, *Das Buch der Zwölf Kleinen Propheten*, Göttingen 1959, 120f.). Cf. Exod 7:17; 9:24; Rev 8:7f. It is standard apocalyptic imagery. Cf. Lang (note 11), 947.

¹⁴ Cf. also Enoch 14:9–22; 18:9ff. In IV Ezra 13:10; 14:39 fire is, respectively, the agent by which Messiah destroys his enemies and the symbol of prophetic inspiration in the Holy Spirit. Cf. Philo, *Quis rerum*, 51, 251 on Exod 29:18; *de vita Mosis*, I, 13, 69f.

¹⁵ If one wishes to venture it, John's baptism 'in water' also could be taken as originally a token of judgment. Cf. II Pet 3:6f.; Isa 4:4.

¹⁶ The problem has no easy solution. 'Fire' may represent a *pesher* in a Q tradition to the Pentecostal experience. Or 'Holy Spirit' may represent an interpretive explanation of the original 'fire,' an explanation substituted by Mark (or his source) and conflated by Q. The order, 'Holy Spirit and fire,' favours the former. Favours the latter are passages in which 'Holy Spirit' appears to be a secondary substitution (cf. Mt 12:28; Lk 11:13) and the fact that Jesus himself used 'fire' in this fashion (Mk 9:49; Lk 12:49). Instances of agreement of Matthew and Luke against Mark are too few to establish any tendency on the part of Q traditions toward this type of conflation. Cf. Lk 9:41 = Mt 17:17; Mk 8:35.

According to the saying in Lk 3:16f., even in its earliest discernible form, the Baptist predicted a twofold act of judgment by the coming Messiah. It included a cleansing of true Israel by a baptism of (spirit and) fire and a destruction of the 'chaff' in unquenchable fire. This is consonant with expectations current in Judaism although it may go beyond them in the role that it assigns to Messiah. There is in this regard no strong objection to accepting the saying as an accurate expression or summation of the Baptist's proclamation. In the Q tradition the twofold emphasis is retained with an explicit, clarification: the altered wording interprets the first, cleansing aspect of Messiah's work to be a present (Pentecostal) reality in the messianic community. The twofold consummation has become a two-stage consummation, a present and a future eschatology.

LUKE 9:23-36

A second text important for the understanding of Luke's eschatological perspective is Lk 9:27: 'But I tell you truly, there are some (τινές) standing here who will not taste death before (ἕως) they see (ἴδωσιν) the kingdom of God.' The suggested fulfilments of this much-debated prophecy range from the transfiguration to the parousia.¹⁷ Much recent research takes the verse to be a promise of the parousia in Jesus' generation. The prophecy did not, of course, have that meaning for the Evangelists since they did not have that expectation.¹⁸

The saying belongs to a series of admonitions (9:23-26) that follow the disclosure that Jesus, the Son of Man, must suffer. Suffering with Jesus is the requirement for discipleship (23), and present suffering is the requisite for future salvation (24-25).¹⁹ Luke 9:26 continues

¹⁷ Cf. A. Plummer, *The Gospel According to St. Luke*, Edinburgh 1922, 249; T. W. Manson, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Cambridge 1951, 279-282; Marshall (note 5), 379.

¹⁸ Assuming the earliest dates for the Gospels, they can be placed only at the outer limits of Jesus' generation. Yet they all anticipate a considerable interval following the (future) destruction of Jerusalem before the end. Cf. Mk 13:10, 21ff.; Mt 24:23ff.; Lk 21:24. Kümmel (note 1), 25, 60, who sees here and in Mk 13:32 an anticipation of the parousia in Jesus' generation, interprets the sayings in isolation from their contexts. H. Conzelmann (*The Theology of St. Luke*, London 1960, 126) correctly observes that 'anti-apocalyptic' is not only a Lukan motif but is present already in Mark.

¹⁹ This motif is common in the New Testament. Cf. Lk 22:28ff.; Acts 24:22; Rom 8:17; I Pet 4:12ff.; Rev 6:11.

and clarifies the present/future contrast. That is, it specifically locates the future tense of 9:24 at the public revelation of the Son of Man in 'glory'²⁰ and at the exposed 'shame'²¹ of those who rejected Jesus. This can have no other *locus* than the parousia. The question remains, however, whether that perspective governs the following verse, Lk 9:27 = Mk 9:1 = Mt 16:28.

It is probable that in the pre-canonical tradition Lk 9:27 was added to the preceding verses.²² This does not mean, however, that one can dismiss the *Redaktionsgeschichte* and seek the original import of the saying in isolation from the context. For the editorial structure not only reveals the intention of the synoptic writers but also may point to the meaning of the saying in a very early tradition-ancestor of Mark and Q.²³ The immediate context, therefore, is of considerable importance. It is a series of antithetic parallelisms:

- (24) save his life/will lose it
loses his life/will save it
- (25) gains the whole world/loses or forfeits himself
- (26) is ashamed of me/of him will the Son of man be ashamed

²⁰ Mk 13:26; Mt 25:31; cf. II Thess 1:8f.; I Pet 4:13. C. H. Dodd (*The Parables of the Kingdom*, London 1936, 93ff.) thinks that the parousia reference is secondary, but that is beside the point here.

²¹ The term elsewhere denotes the exposed plight of the unrighteous at the last judgment. Cf. Dan 12:2; I Jn 2:28; Rev 3:17f.; see below, 157–160.

²² Cf. V. Taylor (note 4), 386; Kümmel (note 1), 25. Whether Lk 9:26 = Mk 8:38 is an altered form, original to the series (Burney), and an added unit (e.g. Kümmel, Taylor) is difficult to say. Cf. F. Burney, *The Poetry of our Lord*, Oxford 1925, 142n; Kümmel (note 1), 44; Taylor (note 4), 382.

²³ It appears likely that the agreements of Matthew and Luke against Mark as well as other textual phenomena point to a 'Q' tradition of this pericope. Dodd and Burney (following Streeter?) have so argued for Mk 8:38. Cf. Streeter (note 4), 521; in *Synoptic Problem*, ed. W. Sanday, Oxford 1911, 428f.; Burney (note 22), 142n; C. H. Dodd, *Parables* (note 20), 94. Also, M. Black (*An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1946, 73) has noted that some textual variations between the Markan and Lukan forms of the verse may reflect a common Aramaic *Vorlage*. Compare Mark's (8:38 = Lk 9:26) one-armed saying with the similar full-orbed parallelism at Lk 12:8f. = Mt 10:32f., his addition of καὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου (Mk 8:35; cf. 10:29); Bultmann (note 4), 111. If in the pre-Markan tradition this pericope already was joined to the Transfiguration episode, the case is strengthened for a parallel Q tradition of the whole. Note the Markan variants from Matthew = Luke at Mk 9:2, 4, 6, 7. Cf. W. Grundmann, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Berlin 1961, 191. E. Haenchen (*NT* 6 [1963], 66) concludes, on insufficient grounds, that the structure of Mk 8:27–9:1 is a Markan composition.

Several commentators have observed that to complete the parallelism Lk 9:26 originally must have ended something like the first half of a similar parallelism in Lk 12:8f. = Mt 10:32f.:²⁴

acknowledge me/him the Son of man will acknowledge

Why was the second half of the parallelism excised and Lk 9:27 = Mk 9:1 substituted? If the added verse referred to the parousia, it would have brought near, i.e. apocalypticized,²⁵ the Christian hope. Thus interpreted, the saying would complete the parallelism and maintain the present/future contrast, though only in a partial way:

some (τινές) will not taste death/see the kingdom of God

But in view of other factors it is improbable that the writer who substituted the verse had in mind a reference to the parousia. The parallelism identifies τινές with the person who 'loses his life for my sake' in contrast with the person who 'is ashamed of me' (24, 26). The pre-Markan editor, therefore, was not thinking of long-lived persons but of disciples faithful unto death. Of course, he could have misunderstood the (apocalyptic) import of the saying. Or he could have made a scissors-and-paste combination without regard for its suitability in the context. But did he? At any rate his placement of the saying raises a doubt about its reference to the parousia.

Even considered in isolation, the verse scarcely will yield a parousia interpretation. In its usual meaning ἕως implies that those who 'see the kingdom' will die later.²⁶ This would rule out a reference to the parousia. Furthermore, 'to see the kingdom' elsewhere in the

²⁴ 'Everyone who acknowledges me before men, the Son of man also will acknowledge before the angels of God; but he who denies me before men will be denied before the angels of God.'

It may be noted that the original ending of Lk 9:26 completed a lengthened fourth line and climaxed the series in a fashion similar to that observed, for example, in the beatitudes. Cf. Lk 6:20ff.; D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Peabody MA ²1994, 196–201.

²⁵ Kümmel (note 1, 28f., 149), taking τινές to refer to long-lived persons in the audience, observes that the parousia was not made immediate. This is true of the original setting, but it is less appropriate to say of the later situation when the verse was inserted here. Bultmann (note 4, 121) and others, who take the verse as a post-resurrection creation, think that τινές introduces a 'delay' in the parousia expectation. Cf. Conzelmann (note 18), 104n. But as a substitute for the original parallelism it carries just the opposite meaning in the context.

²⁶ When modifying a negative main clause, the conjunction, ἕως, regularly signifies that the event in the main clause will in fact occur when the statement of the

Gospels refers to an apprehension of God's present eschatological action in Jesus rather than to a chronological anticipation of the parousia. This is true not only of the Fourth Gospel²⁷ and Luke²⁸ but also of the Markan and Q traditions.

In Mk 4:11f. the disciples have been given 'the mystery of the kingdom of God'²⁹ and, therefore, are not as the rest who seeing see (βλέπωσιν) and do not perceive (ἰδῶσιν). The prophecy cited here (Isa 6:9f.) is applied not only to Jesus' parabolic teaching but also to his sign-miracles. In response to the disciples' failure to apprehend the meaning of the Feeding miracle Jesus asks,

Are your hearts hardened (πεπωρωμένην)?
Having eyes do you not see (βλέπετε), . . . ?³⁰

A Q passage, Lk 10:23f. (= Mt 13:16f.), contrasts with past generations those who witness and perceive God's eschatological action in Jesus:

Blessed are the eyes which see what you see (βλέποντες ἃ βλέπετε).
For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you see (ἰδεῖν ἃ ὑμεῖς βλέπετε) and did not see (εἶδαν) it, . . .

In his 'parables' chapter Matthew connects the saying to the prophecy of Isa 6:9f. For him it signifies that the disciples have 'seen' the 'mysteries of the kingdom' (Mt 13:11). Luke places it at the conclusion of the mission of the Seventy in which 'the kingdom of God has come near' in the sign-miracles of the disciples.³¹ The relation of this

dependent clause is fulfilled. Cf. Mt 17:9; 23:39; Lk 22:16, 34; Jn 9:18; Acts 23:12; I Cor 4:5. There appear to be no certain exceptions to this rule in the New Testament although some passages are unclear. Elsewhere the ἕως clause sometimes absolutizes the negative. Cf. Isa 42:4; *Barn* 21:8.

²⁷ The closest verbal parallel is Jn 3:3: ἰδεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. R. Bultmann (*Das Evangelium Johannes*, Göttingen 1959, 95n) regards the verse as a traditional saying.

²⁸ Conzelmann (note 18, 103) rightly points to this; but it is a mistake to regard this sense of 'seeing' to be 'peculiar to Luke' (192).

²⁹ Mt 13:11 = Lk 8:10 has 'to know (γινῶναι) the mysteries of the kingdom.' This agreement against Mark may point to a Q tradition of the saying.

³⁰ Mk 8:17f. Note the same reaction in Jn 6:26, 36 where the people, seeing, saw not. This fact then is tied to Isa 6:9f. in Jn 12:37-40. Taylor (note 4, 257f.) thinks that the connexion of Isa 6:9f. with the 'signs' generally is the original, pre-resurrection application; the specific application to parables was later, though pre-Markan. Cf. B. Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic*, London 1961, 159.

³¹ Lk 10:9, 11: ἡγγικεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς. The context shows that it means not the chronological imminence of a future reality but the discriminating, 'local' imminence of a present reality: 'the kingdom of God has come close to you' (N.E.B.). Cf. Mk 12:34; M. Black, *The Expository Times* 63 (1952), 289f. See above, 113ff.

passage to Jesus' word concerning his own exorcisms is inescapable: 'If it is by the finger of God that I cast out demons, then the kingdom of God has come upon you' (ἐφθασεν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) (Lk 11:20). Professor Kümmel has shown that this saying, in the mouth of Jesus, referred to the present manifestation of the kingdom in his mighty works. A similar understanding of the 'coming' of the kingdom in Lk 10 appears to be probable.³² For Luke it was a coming that the Seventy 'saw.' The correspondences between Mt 13:16f. and Lk 10:23f. suggest that the Q context of the saying also contained or presupposed a present manifestation of the kingdom of God, seen by some and hidden from others.³³

In conclusion, Lk 9:27 incorporates imagery that is attested independently in Markan, Johannine and probably Q traditions. These traditions point back to the very early, probably pre-resurrection,³⁴ use of this imagery to describe a revelation to some and a hiding from some of God's eschatological action in Jesus. The terminology, 'to know the mysteries of the kingdom,' 'to know the Son,' 'to see the kingdom,' refers alike to such present eschatological realities.³⁵ Most probably the same connotation is present in the similar language of Lk 9:27 = Mk 9:1, even in its pre-Markan context.

Those who interpret Lk 9:27 of the parousia raise two objections, the Markan form and the specifically future intention of the saying. The latter is not decisive since the future element is relative only to the particular audience and to the provenance of the saying.³⁶ The

³² Kümmel (note 1, 23f., 105–109) does not allow this. But the problem cannot be solved by the different and ambiguous wording, ἤγγικεν and ἐφθασεν; the context should be allowed to have its full weight.

³³ Most likely the idea was present at least in some Q traditions, since 'these things' of Lk 10:21f. = Mt 11:25ff. are the very signs that Jesus declared (Lk 11:20) to be a present manifestation of the kingdom of God in their midst. This conclusion is strengthened if the agreement of Mt 13:11 and Lk 8:10 against Mark is, *contra* Streeter (note 4, 313), assigned to a Q source.

³⁴ This supposes, against Lindars (note 30, 18f., 30, 161f.), that the rejection of his message already was an issue in Jesus' ministry and that he made use of the Old Testament to explain it.

³⁵ Mt 13:11 = Lk 8:10; Mt 11:25ff. = Lk 10:21f. (cf. Mt 16:16f.; Jn 6:40, 69f.); Jn 3:3. John represents an adaptation of 'present' eschatology to his situation. C. H. Dodd (*The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1953, 304) reflects an older (and less satisfactory) reconstruction when he characterizes Jn 3:3 as a 'Johannine transmutation' of futurist into realized eschatology.

³⁶ Note the oscillation in Mark: in Mk 4:11f. the mysteries are 'given' to the disciples; in Mk 8:17 they do 'not yet perceive.' Perhaps the successive stages of revelation in Jn 1:49ff. are a better analogy. After Nathanael's confession Jesus replies, 'You shall see greater things.' Cf. Manson (note 17), 119f. J. M. Creed

Markan clause, 'come with power' (ἐληλυθῆσαν ἐν δυνάμει), also has no special affinities with the parousia predictions.³⁷ The use of the perfect tense ('to have arrived,' 'to be present') is at least an unusual way to refer to the consummation.³⁸ And the phrase, ἐν δυνάμει, appears to be more characteristic of the present than of the future, parousia, manifestation of the kingdom.³⁹ Luke's omission of the Markan clause could reflect a shift from a future perspective to a present perspective, as it does in Lk 22:69. But in the light of the above considerations it more likely is only the removal of a redundancy. For Luke the presence of the kingdom always is ἐν δυνάμει.⁴⁰

Less noticed but more significant, perhaps, is the absence from Mk 9:1 = Lk 9:27 of δόξα, νεφέλη, and ἄγγελος, imagery that is characteristic of the undisputed parousia prophecies.⁴¹ Interestingly enough, these terms do occur elsewhere in the present passage; and they may be helpful for determining its structure and interpretation.

The 'glory' of the Son of man (= Jesus) and the presence of the 'angels' are leading elements in the clear parousia reference of Lk 9:26b = Mk 8:38b. The following transfiguration episode features the 'glory' of Jesus, the overshadowing 'cloud,' and the presence of Moses and Elijah.⁴² It is probable that the Synoptic tradition, at least, has understood the Transfiguration as a kind of proleptic manifestation of Jesus' future glory.⁴³ It is a glory to be realized in his resurrection⁴⁴ and publicly revealed in his parousia. On this assump-

probably is correct, against C. H. Dodd, that the 'coming in power' (and not merely the 'seeing') is future and refers to a subsequent manifestation of the kingdom (*Expository Times*, 48 [1936-37], 141f., 184f.). Indeed, Dodd (142) concedes this. 'Future event,' however, does not necessarily mean 'parousia,' as Dodd rightly insists.

³⁷ The Matthean (16:28) alteration, 'Son of man coming in his kingdom,' is a different matter. However, in Mt 10:23 the similar phrase in *Matthew's mind* can hardly mean the parousia (cf. Mt 10:18; 12:18). Kümmel (note 1, 62ff.) interprets the verse in isolation from the context; J. Jeremias (*Jesus' Promise to the Nations*, London 1958, 20) proposes the unusual expedient of a post-parousia mission.

³⁸ As C. H. Dodd (*Expository Times* 48 [1936-37], 141f.) has shown, the implication is not that the 'coming' is seen but that the kingdom first is present and then is 'perceived' to be present by 'some.'

³⁹ Cf. Rom 1:4; I Cor 4:20; Col 1:11-13; II Thess. 1:7, 11; I Pet 1:5; Mk 13:26 has μετὰ δυνάμεως.

⁴⁰ E.g. Lk 4:14, 36; 9:1f.; 10:9, 13; Acts 1:8; 4:7.

⁴¹ E.g. Mk 13:26f.; 14:62; Mt 25:31; II Thess 1:7ff.; cf. I Thess 4:16f.; Rev 1:7.

⁴² For Luke the two prophets may correspond to angelic figures. Cf. Lk 9:30, 32 with Lk 24:4; Acts 1:10.

⁴³ Several scholars have argued along these lines. Cf. Taylor (note 4), 387f.

⁴⁴ Lk 9:28 may involve a symbolic identification of the transfiguration with a reality of the 'eighth day' of creation, i.e. of the new 'resurrection' age. Cf. *Barn.* 15:8f.; Justin, *Dial.* 138.

tion the present/future parallelisms of the preceding verses are continued in the following manner:

see the kingdom of God/transfiguration of Jesus

This equation, present/future = Lk 9:27/Lk 9:28ff., has analogies elsewhere in Luke.⁴⁵ The problem with this arrangement is that the transfiguration is not literally a future, parousia, event. Nevertheless, it probably serves that function in the framework of the synoptic and pre-synoptic tradition.

Lk 9:23–26, like Lk 3:16f., represents a deliberate juxtaposition of present and future eschatology. It is within this frame of reference that Lk 9:27 should be understood. While Luke employs the scheme, he did not create it. The structure of the present passage is the work of a pre-Markan editor, perhaps one who stands behind both Mark and Q. But the parallelisms, so deeply embedded in the sayings here and elsewhere, are not the creation of an editor. Most likely they originate in the preresurrection mission. They are not only existential alternatives of death and life, suffering and exaltation.⁴⁶ They present Jesus' understanding of eschatological existence in terms of present/future contrasts and express, thereby, the temporal structure of his eschatological teaching.

LUKE 23:42–43

At the crucifixion the episode of Jesus and robber presents an eschatological text that is peculiar to the third Gospel:

'Jesus, remember me (μνήσθητί μου) when you come into your kingly power' (ἔλθῃς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν σου). And he said to him, 'Truly, I say to you, today (σήμερον) you will be with me (μετ' ἐμοῦ) in Paradise' (Lk 23:42f.).

The request perhaps was more an expression of sympathy than a confession of faith. Usually it is understood to refer to the last day, the time of resurrection and judgment.⁴⁷ Most likely this is correct

⁴⁵ In Lk 16:15, 19–31 the present good news of the kingdom precedes a parable on future reward and judgment; in Lk 17:20f., 22–37 a declaration of the presence of the kingdom precedes a series of parousia sayings.

⁴⁶ *Contra*, apparently, J. M. Robinson, *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*, ed. W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, New York 1962, 103f.

⁴⁷ Cf. G. E. Ladd, *Jesus and the Kingdom*, New York 1964, 132; so, K. H. Rengstorff, *Das Evangelium nach Lukas*, Göttingen 1958, 273; Plummer (note 17), 535; A. Schlatter,

although, apart from Christian writings, the revelation and role of the Messiah at the resurrection are seldom witnessed in first-century Judaism.⁴⁸

A parousia reference is strongly indicated in the form given the request by Luke or his tradition.⁴⁹ This is clearest in the Bezan reading, 'Remember me in the day of your coming.'⁵⁰ Perhaps more significant are the main clause and the setting of the saying. The phrase, εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν, is the fulfillment of Lk 23:38, the manifestation of the royal Messiah's 'kingly power' in Israel in the parousia.⁵¹ The main clause, 'Remember me,' is inscribed in one form or another on a number of first-century Palestinian tombs. It is best understood as a petition to God to be remembered at the resurrection.⁵²

The eschatological perspective of Jesus' answer is more problematic. The promise can be interpreted as Jesus' expectation of an immediate parousia along lines proposed by J. Weiss and A. Schweitzer.⁵³ Or, traditionally, it may refer to the transferral of the

Das Evangelium des Lukas, Stuttgart 1960 [1931], 447, who properly does not regard the variant readings ἐν and εἰς to be decisive. *Contra*: G. W. H. Lampe, 'Luke,' *Peake's Commentary*, ed. M. Black, Edinburgh 1962, 841.

⁴⁸ One example is II Baruch 30:1f. (cf. 72-73): 'When the time of the advent of the Messiah is fulfilled . . . , He shall return in glory. Then all who have fallen asleep in hope of Him shall rise again.' The resurrection and last judgment often are thought to come after the (temporary) messianic reign. Cf. E. Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh ²1987, II, 536, 543f. (§29,8ff.); W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Tübingen 1926, 259ff.; R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., Oxford 1913, I, 131 (on II Macc. 7).

⁴⁹ The parallels to Mk 9:1; 14:61f., for example, show the way in which the Gospel tradition could shape such a saying. More unlikely is the view that the whole incident is a later creation. In support of this R. Bultmann (*Tradition*, note 4, 309) draws a questionable analogy between the development from Mark (14:27) to Luke and the tendency of a folk-tale over the centuries to individualize and differentiate. But the Lukan story is not his elaboration of Mark; it represents a separate unit of tradition. Perhaps pertinently, Luke sometimes prefers σύν to μετά (cf. Lk 8:38 with Mk 5:18; Lk 22:14 with Mk 14:17; Lk 22:56 with Mk 14:67; ἀληθῶς to ἀμὴν; cf. also Lk 9:27; 12:44; 21:3 with Mk 9:1; Mt 24:47; Mk 12:43). More importantly, μνησκόω always elsewhere in Luke – five times – derives from his special, usually 'hebraizing' traditional episodes (cf. F. Rehkopf, *Die lukanische Sonderquelle*, Tübingen 1959, 95). See Ellis (note 79), 26f., 388.

⁵⁰ Cf. Lk 21:7 D with Mt 24:3. The closest verbal parallel to the majority reading is Mt 16:28: 'the Son of man coming in his kingdom' (ἐρχόμενον ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ αὐτοῦ). As noted above, a parousia interpretation is not entirely certain for this saying. Cf. Mt 25:34.

⁵¹ Cf. Conzelmann (note 18), 119n; Lk 19:38; Acts 1:6.

⁵² Cf. H. Kosmala, *Hebräer-Essener-Christen*, Leiden 1959, 418-420. For God to 'remember' a person means for him to act with regard to the person. Cf. J. Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, New York ³1966, 252f.

⁵³ This figures in Kümmel's (*Promise*, note 1, 74) rejection of the verse as inauthentic.

robber's 'soul' to Paradise.⁵⁴ Taking 'today' to be the day of Christ's resurrection (see below), one could argue, though not very convincingly, that the verse anticipates the robber's resurrection and ascension 'with Jesus' (cf. Mt 27:52f.). Any of these interpretations would serve to illustrate the juxtaposition of present and future eschatology in this passage. But none of them provides a very satisfactory exegesis.

Three terms, σήμερον, μετ' ἐμοῦ, παραδείσω, are important in any attempt to establish the correct meaning of Lk 23:43. Σήμερον most likely goes with the succeeding clause.⁵⁵ But it does not follow that the term refers to the calendar day of the crucifixion. Cullmann has called attention to the fact that in the New Testament 'today' or 'day,' like 'now' (e.g. Lk 22:36) and 'hour' (e.g. I Jn 2:18), sometimes stands for the time of messianic salvation inaugurated by the mission and (especially) the resurrection of Jesus.⁵⁶

Today (σήμερον) this Scripture has been fulfilled . . . (Lk 4:21).

You are my Son, today (σήμερον) I have begotten you (Acts 13:33).

Our morrow's bread give us today (σήμερον) (Mt 6:11).

Behold now is the day (ἡμέρα) of salvation (II Cor 6:2).

Today (σήμερον), when you hear his voice, do not harden your hearts . . . (Heb 3:7).

As Kümmel and Goguel have observed (see notes above), to interpret 'today' as the day of crucifixion may involve an apocalypticizing or platonizing exegesis that is inconsistent with the primitive Christian hope. If the term is interpreted more generally of the time after Jesus' resurrection, it becomes a proleptic saying or, better, a *peshet* to the post-resurrection situation. Such phenomena are found

⁵⁴ This figures in M. Goguel's (*The Life of Jesus*, New York 1960 [1933], 539) rejection of the verse since it is at odds with the 'resurrection' eschatology of primitive Christianity.

⁵⁵ A few reasonably early witnesses place the term with the preceding clause: 'I say to you today' (sy^c), or 'today I say to you' (*Gos. of Nicodemus* 26 = *Descent* 10). The construction is not impossible (e.g. Deut 30:18 LXX), but it is out of harmony with the form of the 'Amen sayings' of the Gospels (cf. Mk 14:30). The variants, as well as the omission of the verse by Marcion, may reflect the conviction that the usual reading of the verse was in conflict with Mt 12:40. Cf. B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The New Testament: Appendix*, London 1882, 68f.; M. Rauer, *Origenes, Werke*, Leipzig 1930, IX, 373; C. Tischendorf, *Novum Testamentum Graece*, 3 vols., Lipsiae ⁸1872, I, 714f.

⁵⁶ O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, London ²1952, 44. In Acts 17:30f. the 'now' is subsequent to the 'times of ignorance' and a prelude to the 'day' of judgment and of final redemption. Cf. Lk 17:30; Rom 2:5; I Cor 5:5. This frame of reference is fundamental for Luke's eschatology.

elsewhere in Luke:⁵⁷ 'From now (vûv) on the Son of man shall be seated at the right hand of the power of God.' This understanding of 'today' is preferable in terms of New Testament word usage and eschatological perspective. And it might be welcomed by patristic commentators who felt the difficulty of reconciling Jesus' entry into a heavenly paradise and 'the heart of the earth' at the same time (Mt 12:40; Acts 2:31). By itself, however, it does not affect essentially the meaning of the verse. More important in this respect is the following phrase, μετ' ἐμοῦ.

The traditional interpretation of the phrase, 'with me,' is inviting; for μετὰ commonly is used of association and co-participation. J. Dupont has compared this verse with II Cor 5:8 and Phil 1:23 in which, similarly, Paul after his death expects to be with (σύν) Christ.⁵⁸ He concludes that the Pauline texts reflect the influence of Platonic thought-forms; in them the 'collective' parousia expectation is transformed into anticipation of 'individual' communion of the soul with Christ at death. This interpretation finds in the texts a body/soul dualism that is, to say the least, uncharacteristic of Paul's thought elsewhere.⁵⁹ In my judgment II Cor 5:8 has nothing to do with the soul's communion with Christ after death. In Semitic fashion it refers to the parousia in which the corporate solidarities of the new age are individually realized.⁶⁰ However, Phil 1:23 may have in view the intermediate state and, if so, offers a parallel to Jesus' promise to the robber (Lk 23:43).

Elsewhere Paul can say that in AD 33 Christians were crucified, raised and exalted to heaven with (σύν) Christ.⁶¹ Col 3:1-4 contrasts the present and future status 'with Christ':

⁵⁷ Lk 22:69. Like John (12:31; 13:31), Luke apparently views the death-resurrection-exaltation of Jesus as one extended event. Therefore, the 'today' of Lk 23:43 should not be pin-pointed either at Good Friday or Easter Sunday. If from the lips of Jesus, it anticipates that the presence of the kingdom in his sign-miracles now will be manifest in his resurrection-exaltation. If a post-resurrection addition, it shifts Jesus' future, parousia promise to his present exaltation.

⁵⁸ J. Dupont, ΣΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩΙ: *L'Union avec le Christ suivant Saint Paul*, Louvain 1952, 92f., 168. Dupont (18f.) finds little difference in the sense of μετὰ and σύν; the latter represents a finer style. Cf. Mk 2:26 D; Lk 7:6 D; 24:29 D.

⁵⁹ Cf. Dupont (note 58), 189-191. It is not, as Dupont seems to suppose, just a matter of change in the *time* of fulfilment and the emphasis upon *individual* fellowship. His (traditional) view requires a fundamental alteration in Paul's view of man and of death. Cf. I Cor 15:17f., 53ff. See below, 165-176.

⁶⁰ See below, 158, 161f.

⁶¹ E.g. Gal 2:20; Eph 2:5f. (συνεκάθισεν ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ); cf. below, 148-154. W. T. Hahn (*Das Mitsterben und Mitaufstehung mit Christus bei Paulus*,

If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above, where Christ is For you have died, and your life is hid with (σύν) Christ in God. When Christ who is our life appears, then you also will appear with (σύν) him in glory.

The present σύν Χριστῷ is a corporate identification not unlike the formula ἐν Χριστῷ.⁶² The future, parousia, σύν Χριστῷ represents an individual actualization and manifestation of the present corporate reality.⁶³ The same contrast may be applied to deceased Christians:

For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also that are fallen asleep in Jesus (διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ) will God bring with him (ἄξει σύν αὐτῷ) (I Thess 4:14 R.V.).

If one takes διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ as a local genitive, i.e. of sphere, the parallel with Col 3 is apparent.⁶⁴ The corporate solidarity of the Christian dead with the exalted Jesus assures their individual association and participation with (σύν) him in the parousia fulfillment. According to I Thess 5:10 Christ 'died for us so that whether we wake or sleep we might live together with him' (ἅμα σύν αὐτῷ ζήσωμεν). It is probable that ζήσωμεν refers to a present reality and not (only) to the parousia consummation.⁶⁵ If so, the σύν Χριστῷ status of dead Christians is no different from that of the living. It is a corporate inclusion and

Gütersloh 1937, 96f.) correctly sees that this involves 'contemporaneity' with the Christ event. Unfortunately he seeks to explain this from existentialist philosophy rather than from (exegetically preferable) Semitic categories of corporate solidarity. Cf. R. P. Shedd, *Man in Community*, London 1958, 56ff. See S. W. Son, cited above, 48n.

⁶² It is mistaken, then, to say with Deissmann that ἐν Χριστῷ regularly describes the Christians' present relation to Christ and σύν Χριστῷ the relation to Christ after death. Cf. G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu'*, Marburg 1892, 126. For a summary and perceptive critique of studies of the σύν Χριστῷ formula since Deissmann see R. Schnackenburg, *Baptism in the Thought of St. Paul*, Oxford 1964, 170–177. Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London 1953, 62f.

⁶³ W. Grundmann (*TDNT* 7 [1971], 793, 795) supposes that in Col 3:4 death is viewed as a departure (*Hingang*) to the 'hidden' life in Christ and that, therefore, the intermediate state includes the individual realization of and participation in the corporate reality (Lk 23:43). But for Paul the 'hidden' life is not entered at death but is present from conversion. It is individually actualized not at death but at the parousia. See below, 147–164, 175–178.

⁶⁴ Cf. N.E.B.: 'those who died as Christians;' see below, 154n; I Thess 4:16 (οἱ νεκροὶ ἐν Χριστῷ); I Cor 15:18 (οἱ κοιμηθέντες ἐν Χριστῷ); I Thess 4:1 (ἐν κυρίῳ) with I Thess 4:2 (διὰ τοῦ κυρίου); J. E. Frame, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians*, Edinburgh 1912, 169f.

⁶⁵ Cf. II Cor 13:4: ζήσωμεν σὺν αὐτῷ; L. Morris, *Epistles to the Thessalonians*, Grand Rapids 1959, 162; G. Milligan, *The First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, Grand Rapids 1953 (1908), 70: 'through union with their Lord believers have an actual part in his experience.' Rom 14:8f. expresses a similar idea; ' . . . if we live, we always live

not an individual participation in the resurrection life of the Lord. These observations illuminate the meaning of the Apostle's own expectation to be 'with Christ' in death.⁶⁶

It should be noted that in Phil 1:23 Paul does not desire to die *in order* to be σύν Χριστῷ. The term would be equally appropriate for the present life or for the parousia.⁶⁷ Paul's desire for death must be understood in the context of his severe afflictions. The 'gain' of death is not the attainment of the σύν Χριστῷ dimension but rather the deliverance from, i.e. the consummation of, the ζῆν ἐν σαρκί dimension, life in the context of 'crucifixion with Christ.'⁶⁸ At death the dual dimension gives way to one, the solidarity σύν Χριστῷ.⁶⁹

If the σύν Χριστῷ and ἐν Χριστῷ concepts are present in Luke's writings, they may provide the background out of which Lk 23:43 should be understood.⁷⁰ In Paul the related concept, 'body of Christ,' is bound together with his understanding of Christ as the eschatological Adam and the eschatological temple. It has its origin in the Semitic concept of corporate solidarity.⁷¹ Although the term, 'body

in relation to the Lord (τῷ κυρίῳ), and if we die, we always die in relation to the Lord. . . . For Christ died and lived again for the very purpose of being Lord of both the dead and the living' (Williams).

⁶⁶ Cf. E. Best, *One Body in Christ*, London 1955, 56f.: 'the formula, "with Christ," suggests to us the inclusion of Christians in Christ.' I Cor 12:26 is a clue for the meaning of the σύν-compounds in the texts relating to union with Christ.' Cf. Schnackenburg (note 62), 175.

⁶⁷ Cf. I Thess 4:14ff.; Col 3:4. So, M. Jones, *The Epistle to the Philippians*, London 1918, lxxxiii: 'the thought here transcends all experience of an intermediate state and obliterates the interval between death and the full consummation of blessedness.' On this interpretation Paul's 'desire' is a third, 'far better' alternative to the 'hard pressed' choice between life ἐν σαρκί and death. This view cannot be ruled out (see below, 176ff.; cf. J. N. Sevenster, *NTS* 1 [1954-55], 296). If one wishes to speculate, the third alternative might be translation. Cf. IV Ezra 14:9: 'thou shalt be taken up (*reciperis*) from among men, and henceforth thou shalt remain with (*cum*) my Son, and with such as are like thee, until the times be ended.' But ἀναλῶσαι apparently will not bear this meaning.

⁶⁸ See below, Chapter XII, 153f. The thought is similar to II Cor 4:10ff.

⁶⁹ In accord with Paul's two-ages eschatology the time of individual actualization of the with-Christ life awaits the parousia (cf. Phil 3:21). The thought is similar to II Cor 5:3f.: those who in life or death are clothed (ἐνδυσάμενοι) in the corporate body of Christ will be 'clothed upon' (ἐπενδύσασθαι) with immortality individually at the parousia-resurrection. See below, 156f.

⁷⁰ The precise terminology does not occur. Apart from Lk 23:43 the closest approximation is the personal association of the disciples 'with Jesus' in the pre-resurrection mission. Cf. Acts 4:13; Lk 8:1; 22:14, 28 (μετ' ἐμοῦ), 56. Perhaps the phrase, 'resurrection in Jesus' (Acts 4:2), is not best understood corporately. But see E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford 1971, 214n; cf. Eph 4:17.

⁷¹ Cf. E. Schweizer, 'σῶμα,' *TDNT* 7 (1971), 1069f.; W. D. Davies, *Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1955, 56f.; S. W. Son, cited above, 48n.

of Christ,' does not occur in the Gospels the idea is present, especially in the imagery of the new temple.⁷² In view of Luke's interest in temple typology an allusion to a corporate (temporal) life in God (ἐν αὐτῷ ζῶμεν) is to be inferred at Acts 17:24, 28. Probably a similar intention is present at Lk 20:38 (πάντες αὐτῷ ζῶσιν).⁷³ It arouses more than casual interest, therefore, to observe that the Lukan episode of Jesus and the robber apparently serves as a substitute for the Markan sayings about the new temple.⁷⁴

Like the temple typology, the saying of Jesus to the robber refers to the corporate exaltation of believers 'with Christ.' In Judaism Messiah was expected to 'open the gates of Paradise.'⁷⁵ Luke teaches that Jesus in his death and resurrection opened the gates of Paradise and was exalted there with his 'body.' Because the robber 'today' shares in Jesus' exaltation corporately, he will, therefore, be 'remembered' at the parousia when the victory of Christ, 'the first fruits,' is actualized in the individual existence of his followers.⁷⁶

⁷² See above, 35ff., 44-49, 56-61. Cf. D. O. Via, 'The Church as the Body of Christ in the Gospel of Matthew,' *SJT* 11 (1958), 271-286; W. D. Davies, *The Setting of the Sermon on the Mount*, Cambridge 1964, 97f.; E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991 (1957), 90ff. An Adam-Christ typology probably underlies the Lukan genealogy (Lk 3:38); Christ's corporate identification with the Christian community is presupposed in the question of the risen Jesus to Paul: 'Why do you persecute me?' (Acts 9:4).

⁷³ Cf. Col 3:3; see above, 97ff.

⁷⁴ Mk 15:29f.; cf. 14:58. Luke takes up the temple question in Stephen's speech (Acts 7:48), and this may be sufficient reason for omitting it in the passion narrative. But why was the saying of the robber chosen to replace it?

⁷⁵ *Test. Levi* 18:10. Taken from man after the Fall, Paradise was viewed to have a continuing 'hidden' existence. (It is difficult to determine in what measure this idea reflected only poetic symbolism.) It never was located in Sheol but was placed in heaven or in a remote earthly spot. Cf. (H. L. Strack-)P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1924, II, 227; Bousset (note 48), 282-286. It was to be restored to man only in the coming age (cf. II Baruch 60:10f.). However, according to some elements in Judaism it was the repose of the 'souls' of some of the righteous during death (Enoch 60:8, 23; cf. Josephus, *War*, 3, 8, 5). Revelation (2:7; 22:2) reflects the former conviction; Paul speaks of a present exaltation to paradise, physically or in a vision (II Cor 12:2ff.; cf. I Cor 6:18: ἐκτός). Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Revelation of St. John*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1920, II, 160f.; Billerbeck IV, 1130ff., 1144f.

⁷⁶ There may be more than a coincidental relation between 'today-with-me-paradise' in Luke 23:43 and 'today-partakers of Christ's sabbath rest' in Heb 3:6-19. The temple typology is the context of the latter passage. (Cf. Heb 3:6: οἶκος). Although rejected by a number of commentators, 'partakers of Christ' (Heb 3:14 A.V.), is best understood of a corporate relationship. Cf. Heb 6:4; B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, London 1889, 84f.; O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Göttingen 1966, 189f.; P. E. Hughes, . . . *Hebrews*, Grand Rapids 1977, 149f.

CONCLUSION

The juxtaposition of present and future eschatology observed in the passages above may be found in other Lukan texts. The prayer for the manifestation of the *future* kingdom is paired with the request for the *present* giving (δίδου) of the kingdom's bread (Lk 11:2f., 13). The condemnation of 'this generation' at the *future* resurrection is paired with the 'greater thing' that is *present* in Jesus' mission (Lk 11:31f.). Apparently it also enters into the structure of Lukan episodes. An episode on future reward and judgment (Lk 12:41–48) is joined to one concerning immediate judgment (Lk 12:49–53).⁷⁷

This kind of juxtaposition has affinities with the Gospel of John.⁷⁸

The hour is coming *and now is*, when the dead will hear . . .

The hour is coming when all who are in the tombs will hear . . .
(Jn 5:25, 28f.).

He who eats my flesh and drinks my blood *has* eternal life and I will raise him up *at the last day* (Jn 6:54).

'I know that he will rise again in the resurrection *at the last day*.'

Jesus said to her, 'I *am* the resurrection and the life . . .' (Jn 11:24f.).

Following a growing body of opinion that John is independent of the synoptic Gospels,⁷⁹ we may derive this pairing of present and future eschatology from his special traditions. The above investigation has revealed that the same phenomenon is present in Markan and Q materials as well as in Luke's special sources. It lies, therefore, at the bedrock of the Gospel traditions.

The relationship of present and future eschatology forms the framework for Luke's 'history of salvation' theology. Luke accentuates and elaborates the framework, but he did not originate it. Professor Kümmel showed that this twofold, present and future, eschatology finds its origin in the pre-resurrection mission. Its sequel, equally evident, is also present in the post-resurrection mission of Paul. The pattern is not unaltered – indeed, sometimes it is deliberately altered to the post-resurrection situation. But it is very similar in its essential idea and content to the eschatological teaching of Jesus.

⁷⁷ Cf. Lk 16:14, 19ff.; 17:20f., 22ff.

⁷⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The World of St. John*, Lanham MD 1996, 37–42.

⁷⁹ E.g. P. Borgen, 'The Independence of the Gospel of John,' *The Four Gospels 1992. FS F. Neirynck*, 3 vols., edd. F. Van Segbroeck *et al.*, Leuven 1992, III, 1832f.; C. H. Dodd, *Historical Tradition in the Fourth Gospel*, Cambridge 1963, 8f., 423f. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 154f.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE STRUCTURE OF PAULINE ESCHATOLOGY (II COR 5:1-10)

Since the days of O. Pfleiderer¹ II Cor 5:1-10 has been commonly regarded as showing a hellenization of Paul's eschatology, or in today's language, a transition from a futurist to a realized (or inaugurated) eschatology.² Paul's earliest view (I Thess 4:13ff.) followed the ancient Jewish idea of physical resurrection at the last day; in I Cor 15 this is qualified by distinguishing between the σῶμα ψυχικόν and the σῶμα πνευματικόν; II Cor 5 completes the process, viewing the transition in Greek fashion as occurring at death rather than at the parousia. Although some located 'the two diverse strains in Paul's conception of resurrection' in (a hellenized) Judaism (Davies), the end result is the same: In contrast to I Cor 15 'resurrection' in II Cor 5 takes place at death.³ Other writers, following Pfleiderer, contended that Paul, for a shorter or longer period, held both Jewish and Greek concepts 'without any thought of their essential

¹ Cf. A. Schweitzer, *Paul and His Interpreters*, London 1912, 69-76.

² Cf. R. H. Charles, *The Doctrine of a Future Life*, London 1913, 437ff.; A. Plummer, *Second Corinthians*, Edinburgh 1915, 153; H. Windisch, *Der Zweite Korintherbrief*, Göttingen 1924, 157; H. W. Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, Edinburgh 1926, 130; H. L. Goudge, *Second Corinthians*, London 1927, 45ff.; W. L. Knox, *St. Paul and the Church of the Gentiles*, Cambridge 1989, 128ff.; J. Lowe, '... Attempts to Detect Developments in Paul's Theology,' *JTS* 42 (1941), 129ff.; H. A. Guy, *The New Testament Doctrine of the 'Last Things'*, London 1948, 117; W. H. P. Hatch, 'St. Paul's View of the Future Life,' *Paulus-Hellas-Oikumene*, ed. P. I. Bratsiotis Athens 1951, 96; R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., London 1952, II, 201; J. Dupont, *ΣΥΝ ΧΡΙΣΤΩ: L'Union avec le Christ suivant Saint Paul*, Paris 1952; C. H. Dodd, *New Testament Studies*, Manchester 1953, 109ff.; R. F. Hettlinger, '2 Corinthians 5.1-10,' *SJT* 10 (1957), 174ff.; J. A. T. Robinson, *Jesus and His Coming*, London 1957, 101, 160f. Otherwise: P. E. Hughes, *Paul's Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1962, 153-185; R. H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids ²1987, 149-154, 152ff., who see no development between I Thess 4 and II Cor 5. Gundry thinks that Paul expressed a (essentially Platonic) body/soul dualism throughout.

³ W. D. Davies, *St. Paul and Rabbinic Judaism*, London 1955, 319; cf. Charles (note 2), 453. Hettlinger (note 2), 192, takes the unusual view that II Cor 5 represented only a temporary aberration caused by recent afflictions (II Cor 1:8-9); in Philipians (4:6) Paul returns to his parousia hope. Cf. Harris (note 24).

inconsistency.⁴ Even scholars normally opposed to a Greek dualism in Pauline anthropology tend toward it when interpreting II Cor 5:8. Thus, J. A. T. Robinson is content to equate 'absent from the body' with the 'naked' interim state.⁵ Also, O. Cullmann, who has emphasized the temporal character of redemption focused upon the parousia, refers this verse to Paul's confidence concerning the intermediate state of the Christian dead.⁶

II Cor 5 has considerable bearing both upon the nature of Pauline anthropology and eschatology and upon the more specific question of the intermediate state. The commentators' exegetical differences arise for the most part in the presuppositions underlying the apostle's thought. Those (e.g. C. H. Dodd) who see a transition from Paul's earlier eschatology have a certain presumption to overcome. In view of Paul's parousia eschatology throughout his writings⁷ 'ist es wahrscheinlich, daß er dennoch in einigen Stellen seiner Briefe, in welchen er doch auch immer an seiner Aeonen-Eschatologie festhält, plötzlich das Geschehen unmittelbar nach dem Tode in griechischem Sinne als definitiv entscheidend verkündigen würde?'⁸

THE BELIEVER'S CORPORATE EXISTENCE IN CHRIST

In II Cor 4:10f. the couplet,

Always carrying the dying of Jesus in the body
In order that the life of Jesus ἐν τῷ σώματι ἡμῶν φανερωθῇ.
For we the living are ever given over to death for Jesus' sake
In order that also the life of Jesus φανερωθῇ ἐν τῇ θνητῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν,

⁴ O. Pfeiderer, *Paulinism*, 2 vols., London 1891, I, 264; cf. Lowe (note 2), 142: '[Paul] left the whole wonderful muddle unarranged and alive.' This view, however, for which 'from the whole range of the history of thought no analogy could be produced,' has been unsatisfactory to most. Cf. Schweitzer (note 1), 77.

⁵ J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London 1952, 17, 29, 77.

⁶ O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, London 1952, 238ff.; idem, *Immortality of the Soul or Resurrection of the Dead*, New York 1958, 52ff. Cullmann, however, equates the 'naked' (II Cor 5:3) state with the 'sleep' of I Thess 4 and I Cor 15; there is no change in Paul's understanding of the parousia. Cf. also A. Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, London 1931, 131; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of Last Things*, London 1904, 266-270.

⁷ I Thess 4-5; II Thess 2; I Cor 15; cf. II Cor 1:9, 14; Eph 1:21f.; 2:7; 6:8; Phil 1:6, 10; 2:16; 3:11, 20f.; 4:5; Col 3:4, 24; II Tim 4:8. The distinction which J. Robinson ([note 2], 20) draws between the parousia and the 'day' seems to be, in the Pauline letters, an unwarranted dichotomy.

⁸ J. N. Sevenster, 'Einige Bemerkungen über den "Zwischenzustand" bei Paulus,'

is followed by the assurance, which can be attested only by faith (13), that 'he who raised the Lord Jesus also ἡμᾶς σὺν Ἰησοῦ ἐγερεῖ and present us with you' (14).⁹ Then occur (16–18) a series of antitheses:

outer nature wasting — inner nature being daily renewed
momentary affliction — everlasting weight of glory (δόξης)
transient 'seen' things — everlasting 'unseen' things.

In Romans 8 a similar pattern is observable. 'He who raised Christ Jesus from the dead will give life to your θνητὰ σώματα' (11). For the Spirit witnesses that, as fellow-heirs with Christ, we suffer with him that we may be glorified with him (συνδοξασθῶμεν) (17).¹⁰ This consummation for which we groan (cf. II Cor 5:4) is to be accomplished together with the renovation of the whole creation; while it is attested to us by the indwelling Spirit (cf. II Cor 5:5), it belongs to the realm of the 'unseen,'¹¹ not to the 'seen' (23–25; cf. II Cor 5:7).

The basic divergency in the interpretation of II Cor 4–5 and Rom 8 relates to their eschatological perspective. Even Dodd admits, although reluctantly, a modified futurist reference in the latter passage.¹² The concurrence of 'the redemption of our bodies' with the renovation of the cosmos identifies this passage completely with the Pauline two-age eschatology which focuses God's redemptive action upon the parousia of Christ.¹³ Whether II Cor 4–5 can be so understood depends upon the relationship one sees between Rom 8 and the above antitheses (and the further indicated parallels in II Cor 5). With the exception of the 'inner nature being daily renewed' (ἀνακαινοῦνται) the right-hand column should be placed at the parousia if the parallel with Rom 8 is allowed. The 'inner man' of II Cor 4:16 has been cited as an example of anthropological dualism in Paul.¹⁴ This Greek interpretation, however, is quite un-Pauline and confuses ethics and psychology with ontology. As J. Robinson (note 2,

NTS 1 (1954–55), 295. Cf. R. de Langhe, 'Judaïsme ou Hellénisme,' *L'Attente du Messie*, edd. L. Cerfaux *et al.*, Louvain 1958, 179–183.

⁹ I.e. at his coming; Robinson (note 5), 76.

¹⁰ Cf. II Cor 1:6; I Thess 3:3f.; Phil 1:29; II Tim 2:12.

¹¹ The 'unseen,' i.e. the age-to-come, present now as the 'hoped for,' as ἀρραβὼν and ἐν Χριστῷ, will be 'manifest' only in the parousia (cf. Heb 11:1, 39f.). Contrast ἀόρατος (Rom 1:20; Col 1:15f.); cf. W. Michaelis, 'ὄρατός,' *TDNT* 5 (1967/1954), 369.

¹² C. H. Dodd, *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*, London ²1959, 134.

¹³ Cf. N. Q. Hamilton, *The Holy Spirit and Eschatology in Paul*, Edinburgh 1957, 68ff.; Cullmann, *Time* (note 6), 102ff.; I Thess 4–5; I Cor 14; cf. I Pet 3:10, 12f.

¹⁴ Gundry (note 2), 135ff.; S. Laeuchli, 'Monism and Dualism in the Pauline

76) has noted, 'this is exactly the same process of renewal that [Paul] alludes to in Rom 12:1f.': 'Present your *bodies* a living sacrifice. . . . Be transformed by the renewing (ἀνακαινώσεται) of your *minds*.' Mortal *soma* – the self viewed in its external physical relation to this age – is dying; the self in its internal and also physical relation to Christ is, even through and by its physical sufferings, being transformed. This transformation finds its ultimate goal at the parousia;¹⁵ as a process in this life, effected by the Spirit, the transformation is solely moral and psychological. It affects one's outlook on life and what the body *does*, not what the body *is*; this latter ontological transformation – from mortal to immortal – awaits the resurrection.¹⁶

Paul declares that – in the past – Christians were crucified with Christ, raised to life, translated into his kingdom, glorified, and made to sit with Christ in heaven.¹⁷ The same experiences may be looked upon as future hope: 'That I may know him and the power of his resurrection, and may share his sufferings, becoming like him in his death, that if possible I may attain the resurrection from the dead' (Phil 3:10f.; cf. Rom 8:17f.). Sometimes the perspective is mixed: 'If we have died with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him' (Rom 6:8; cf. II Tim 2:11). The meaning of these different chronological perspectives, and their relationship, is the core question of the present eschatological debate.¹⁸

In its past reference the Christian's 'dying and rising' is coincident corporately with Christ's death and resurrection in AD 33 and with one's conversion as it is manifest in baptism in the Holy Spirit; it is always presented as a corporate event σύν Χριστῷ and ἐν Χριστῷ.¹⁹ Its present and future references appear to involve the actualization of the corporate reality in the individual person. It is not without significance, therefore, that virtually every reference to the believer's crucified and resurrected status is coupled with an ethical command. Colossians (2:20; 3:1, 9f., 12) provides a good example: 'If with Christ

Anthropology,' *BR* 3 (1958), 19. He treats Rom 7:22, I Cor 12:1ff., II Cor 3:18 in similar fashion.

¹⁵ Rom 8:29; I Cor 13:12f.; cf. I Jn 3:2.

¹⁶ Although the Holy Spirit does, in temporal healing, retard on occasion the powers of death even here and now. Cf. O. Cullmann, *The Early Church*, London 1956, 165–173.

¹⁷ Gal 2:20; Eph 2:5f.; Col 1:13; 2:11f.; Rom 8:30.

¹⁸ Cf. W. G. Kümmel, 'Futurische und Präsentische Eschatologie im Ältesten Urchristentum,' *NTS* 5 (1958–59), 113–126.

¹⁹ E.g. Rom 6:1–11; cf. II Cor 5:17; Gal 4:26; Col 2:11f.; Phil 3:20. Gal 2:20 perhaps is best translated 'I am con-crucified-with Christ' (Robinson [note 5], 63).

you died to the elemental spirits of the universe, why do you live as if you still belonged to the world? . . . If then you have been raised with Christ, seek the things that are above. . . . Put to death the earthly. . . . You have put off (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι) the old man and have put on (ἐνδυσάμενοι) the new man which is being renewed (ἀνακαινούμενον) in knowledge after the image of its creator. . . . Put on (ἐνδύσασθε) then . . . compassion, kindness. . . .²⁰ Having been incorporated into the one organism, Christ's body, and destined to be conformed individually to Christ's image, the Christian is to 'grow up in every way into Him who is the Head', i.e. husband/leader of the body.²¹ Becoming 'one flesh' (Eph 5:31f.) with Christ does not supersede or annul the 'individual' existence of the believer.²² This distinction between the Christian's individual and corporate existence provides the clue to understand Paul's – sometimes confusing – application of terms.

In his excellent treatise, *The Body*, Professor Robinson has rightly emphasized the 'corporate' existence of the believer; one may question whether he has given due regard to the Christian's continuing individual existence and the significance this has for Paul's thought. It is agreed that 'nowhere in the New Testament has the resurrection of the body anything specifically to do with the moment of death. The key "moments" for this are Spirit baptism and the parousia.'²³ Robinson, however, goes on to speak of the resurrection of the body as a continuing process: 'Because of our incorporation into Christ the new solidarity is continually being built up within us. The condition of being "conformed" bodily (σύμμορφον) to the body of his glory (Phil 3:21; cf. Rom 8:29) is only the end of the process, begun at baptism, whereby Christ is being "formed" within us (μορφωθῆναι, Gal 4:19).'²⁴ Now, it is by no means certain that Gal 4:19 refers to a present process (rather than a parousia consummation)²⁵

²⁰ Cf. Rom 6:8, 11; 8:9, 13, 29; I Cor 6:14, 18; 15:49, 53f.; II Cor 3:18; 4:4; 5:2–4, 14f.; Eph 2:5ff.; 4:1, 22ff.

²¹ Eph 4:15; 5:23, 30ff.; cf. I Cor 11:3; 12:27; Eph 1:23; Rom 8:29.

²² Cf. the husband-bride analogy in I Cor 7:14ff.; II Cor 11:2; Eph 5:22–32.

²³ Robinson (note 5), 79. Pace Robinson, I understand 'baptism' here to refer to the baptism 'in the Spirit' (cf. I Cor 12:13) distinct from water baptism. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Lanham MD 1998, 8, 30–33, 44f.

²⁴ Robinson (note 5), 80f. Similar, M. J. Harris, *Raised Immortal*, Grand Rapids 1985; idem, *From Grave to Glory*, Grand Rapids 1990. See below, Chapter XIII, note 65, p. 177.

²⁵ The figure is that of an embryo coming to birth. Cf. Rom 8:29; Col 1:18; I Cor 15:22f.

and still less so that the renewal process in the Christian life should be spoken of as 'resurrection,' a term which speaks to man in his mortality. The same verse (II Cor 4:16f., 'being renewed'), which Robinson here cites in support of his view, he earlier (76) interprets as 'exactly the same process of renewal' as Rom 12:1. There, as also in II Cor 3:18,²⁶ μεταμορφώω must be understood not as a physical-ontological change but as a moral and world-view (or psychological) transformation which the indwelling Spirit, the power of the new resurrection age, is effecting in the lives and minds of believers.²⁷ Resurrection is always used, in this framework, with reference to a point action at conversion or parousia; never does Paul speak of it as a process which is now going on.

It is a mistake, therefore, to regard 'the inner nature being renewed' in II Cor 4:16f. as implying an anthropological dualism (as Laeuchli and Gundry)²⁸ or a progressive individual resurrection (as Robinson). The verse is, as the parallel texts suggest, a contrast between the Christian, i.e. the total self, as he is still related (in his mortality) to the old Adamic age and the Christian as he is now also related (in his ethic and world-view) to the new resurrection age through the indwelling Spirit.²⁹ This distinction between resurrection, as point action, and moral-psychological renewal, as process, may appear to be mere semantic quibbling; but it has considerable importance for understanding Paul's eschatological thought world.

²⁶ It may be that 'die Brücke zwischen Gegenwart und Eschatologie steckt in ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν,' the latter referring to the consummation; G. Kittel, 'δόξα,' *TDNT* 2 (1964/1935), 251; cf. Rom 8:18, 29; I Cor 15:43, 49; Phil 3:21. The other meaning is indicated in Mark 9:2; cf. Lk 9:32.

²⁷ See above, note 26; J. Behm, 'μεταμορφώω,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 758f.

²⁸ Laeuchli (note 14), 19. Cf. Gundry (note 2).

²⁹ It is not difficult to grasp Paul's distinction between the self in its mortality (ἐξω ἄνθρωπος, II Cor 4:16) and the self in its ethico-intellectual perversion (παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος, Rom 6:6; Eph 4:22; Col 3:9). Both refer to Adamic man as he is determined by the old age. With the latter is contrasted 'the new (καινός) Christic man created in righteousness' and the new (νέος) man 'being renewed (ἀνακαινούμενον) in knowledge' (Eph 4:24; 2:15; Col. 3:10). The inner (ἐσω) man also is man in his ethical renewal and man in his ability to comprehend and to know 'the love of Christ' (Rom 7:22; Eph 3:16ff.); and in II Cor 4:16 the inner man is contrasted with the outer (ἐξω) man. Nevertheless while 'outer' and 'old' are obviously not to be equated, both 'new man' and 'inner man' refer to the self incorporated into its new age status 'in Christ' and, as a process, to the self in its moral transformation toward this new corporeity and in its increasing apprehension and comprehension of the 'in Christ' reality. This pattern does not lend itself in the least to an anthropological dualism, but refers to individual actualizations of corporate realities 'in Adam' and 'in Christ.' The headline for all Paul's ethical teaching is this: Become what you are! That is, become individually what you are corporately in Christ.

Paul pictures the corporate ἐν Χριστῷ reality as undergoing in the present time a twofold process of actualization in the individual believer. As noted above, there is a progressive moral conformity to the character of Christ and, indeed, the very genuineness of one's status is determined by what one has done 'in the (Adamic) body';³⁰ similarly, the reality of the new age is being individually actualized in a psychological or world-view transformation in which the 'in Christ' reality is increasingly apprehended and increasingly determinative for one's world and life view.

But, secondly, the old age reality also is being actualized in the believer. Paul does not, strangely enough, view this as the remains of the corporeity ἐν Ἀδάμ but apparently regards it also as an aspect of the ἐν Χριστῷ existence. For, while the individual actualization of Christ's resurrection awaits the parousia, the present physical afflictions of the members of Christ's body are an actualization of the suffering of the Head. It is not merely that we suffer 'for Christ's sake' (διὰ Ἰησοῦν, II Cor 4:11),³¹ but that we 'share his suffering' (Phil 3:10) for the 'sufferings of Christ abound to us' (II Cor 1:5).³²

To participate in the body is also to participate in the blood (I Cor 10:16), i.e. in the sacrificial death of Christ. To 'fill out' Christ is to 'fill up' his 'afflictions' (Col 1:24). Indeed in the most obvious sense it is only in 'the likeness of his death' that believers are at present individually actualizing their corporate union with Christ: 'the likeness of his resurrection' lies in the future parousia resurrection of the dead (Rom 6:5).³³ Of course, it is not a self-redemption.

Present suffering yielding future resurrection glory is a fairly common idea and is the proper interpretation of II Cor 4:17.³⁴ Both realities can be understood in a literal – i.e. 'the most obvious' – sense. However, as present partakers of the about-to-be-revealed glory (Rom 8:18; I Pet 5:1) we believers are already glorified,³⁵ comforted,³⁶ possessors of all things only³⁷ ἐν Χριστῷ. This corporate reality is vouchsafed to us individually by the Spirit (who is the ἀρραβὼν and ἀπαρχή of the coming new age existence), but is, until the parousia,

³⁰ II Cor 5:10; cf. Rom 2:6ff.; I Cor 2:13ff.; Gal 5:21; Eph 5:5; Col 3:24.

³¹ Cf. II Thess 1:5; Phil 1:29; I Thess 3:3.

³² Cf. Rom 12:1; II Tim 4:6; Heb 13:12f.; I Pet 2:21; 4:1, 13.

³³ Robinson (note 5), 74.

³⁴ Cf. Rom 8:17f.; II Thess 1:5, 7; II Tim 2:12; Heb 13:13f.; I Pet 4:13.

³⁵ Rom 8:30; I Cor 12:26; cf. Eph 3:13; II Cor 3:18.

³⁶ II Cor 1:5–7; cf. I Thess 3:6f.

³⁷ II Cor 6:8–10.

actualized individually only in the exalted Lord, 'the ἀπαρχή of those who have fallen asleep,' the 'first-born among many brethren.'³⁸

The Christian's suffering then, and even his death, is no longer to be understood in terms of ἐν Ἀδάμ but rather of being 'crucified with Christ' (Gal 2:20). With this in mind Paul can speak of his own death as a sacrifice (Phil 2:17; II Tim 4:6) and of deceased believers as having fallen asleep διὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ.³⁹

THE CORPORATE HOUSE IN HEAVEN

The exegesis of II Cor 5:1–10 has been determined by the interpretation of two or three terms, namely, the 'house in the heavens' (1), the stripped or naked state (3f.), and 'absence from the body' (8). Of these, the first probably has been most influential in the popular understanding of the passage.

By and large, commentators identify the 'house' (οἰκία) with 'spiritual bodies' of individual Christians. Probably most would not speak of them as 'apparently waiting in store for us on the heavenly shelves.'⁴⁰ But, whether to be 'put on' at death⁴¹ or at the parousia,⁴² οἰκία is understood to be the external shell of the soul or real self.⁴³ Certainly 'house' is used in this sense in the first-century Greek world,⁴⁴ and Paul might well employ the term 'tent-house' (οἰκία τοῦ σκηνῶντος) to emphasize the transitory character of the present body.⁴⁵

³⁸ I Cor 15:20ff.; Rom 8:29; cf. Heb 2:8ff.

³⁹ I Thess 4:14. Note the corresponding σύν αὐτῷ. Cf. Rom 5:11, 17; 15:30; II Cor 1:5; 4:5 (WH mg); 5:10; I Pet 2:5 where διὰ appears to involve, not merely agency, but a sphere of corporate relationship. 'To us the idea of being "with" Christ conveys something more external than that of being "in" him. But almost certainly it did not to Paul' (Robinson [note 5], 62). In Phil 1:23 de Langhe ([note 8], 182) compares 'with Christ' to the Old Testament expressions 'gathered to his people' (e.g. Gen 25:7, 17) and 'slept with his fathers' (e.g. Deut 31:16). On the relation of μέτα and σύν cf. Dupont (note 2), 17ff., 99; see above, 142n.

⁴⁰ Lowe (note 2), 136.

⁴¹ E.g. E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London 1946, 190; Davies (note 3), 318; Hettlinger (note 2), 193f.; C. Masson, 'Immortalité de l'âme ou resurrection des morts?' *RTP* 8 (1958), 250–267; cf. Harris, *Immortal* (note 24), 100–107.

⁴² E.g. Goudge (note 2), 47; H. Lietzmann–W. G. Kümmel, *An die Korinther I–II*, Tübingen 1949, 118f.; R. Bultmann, *Exegetische Probleme des zweiten Korintherbriefes*, Uppsala 1947, 12; F. V. Filson, 'Second Corinthians,' *The Interpreter's Bible*, Nashville 1953, X, 327.

⁴³ Cf. Bultmann (note 2), I, 202f.

⁴⁴ E.g. Philo, *de praem.* 120; *de som.* I, 122; cf. Wisd 9:15; Bultmann (note 42), 6.

⁴⁵ O. Michel, 'οἰκία' *TDNT* V (1967/1954), 132f.; cf. Job 4:19.

It may be questioned, however, whether the usage here has been understood when οἰκία is interpreted merely of the individual body. Moreover serious objections arise if the corresponding 'house from heaven' is thought of in individual fashion. This house is described as a present possession (ἔχομεν),⁴⁶ a building from God (οἰκοδομήν), not made with hands (ἀχειροποίητος), everlasting, and in the heavens. A number of considerations compel the conclusion that Paul's primary thought is not of individual bodies at all, but of corporate solidarities which inhere in Adam and in Christ, the old age and the new age. First, 'whenever Paul uses the word οἰκοδομή (except in the purely figurative sense of edification), it means the body of Christ, [i.e. the church or Christ's corporate body] (I Cor 3:9; Eph 2:21; 4:12, 16), not an individual body.'⁴⁷ Second, οἶδαμεν (5:1) suggests that the teaching introduced is not novel – probably not even uniquely Pauline – but a well-known Christian concept to which he calls attention. Third, one finds such a concept in the complex of images expressed in the terms body of Christ, the new man, God's temple; and these images are manifestly present in II Cor 5.

'Do you not know (οἶδατε),' Paul asks earlier, 'that you are God's temple?' (I Cor 3:16). This motif is taken up again in II Cor 6:16ff. and is there supported by a *catena* of Old Testament *testimonia*.⁴⁸ The concept is deeply rooted not only in Pauline thought but in the substructure of New Testament thought-patterns generally, and probably finds its origin in the sayings of Jesus himself. It is not without significance that three key words of II Cor 5:1 appear also in Mk 14:58: 'We heard him say, "I will destroy (καταλύσω) this temple that is made with hands, and in three days I will build (οἰκοδομήσω) another, not made with hands (ἀχειροποίητον)".'⁴⁹ 'Not made with hands' is a quasi-technical term in the New Testament pointing to the corporate realities of the new age. Used with 'house' or 'temple,' it refers to the corporate Body of Christ.⁵⁰ Stephen's polemic

⁴⁶ The fatal objection to taking 5:1 of the individual resurrection body is the present ἔχομεν, (J. Robinson [note 2], 77). See also A. Feuillet, 'La demeure céleste et la destinée des chrétiens (II Cor 5:1-10),' *RSR* 44 (1956), 161-169, 360-402.

⁴⁷ J. Robinson (note 2), 76; cf. I Tim 1:4 mg.

⁴⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991, 90ff., 108; idem, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 77; Eph 2:19ff.; 5:31f.; I Pet 2:5ff.

⁴⁹ See above, Chapters III and IV, 38-61.

⁵⁰ See above, 44-48, 56-61. Also, 'New Covenant' circumcision, not made with hands, is the death of Christ into which Christians have been incorporated. Cf. Col 2:11; Eph 2:11; Robinson (note 2), 41.

against the temple cultus centers in the assertion that God does not live in houses made with hands (Acts 7:48f.). God is building anew David's tent (ἀνοικοδομήσω τὴν σκηνήν, Acts 15:16), which is the true tent, not made with hands (Heb 8:2).⁵¹ In view of the use of σκηνή elsewhere in the temple typology, it is not unreasonable to infer that σκήνος in II Cor 5:1 has similar connotations. Also, the use of οἶκος (and its cognates) elsewhere in the New Testament in a corporate sense further substantiates this interpretation of the present context.⁵²

It is most probable then that in II Cor 5:1ff. Paul has in mind the concept of the true temple which views the messianic community in terms of the 'house of God.' In an interchange of the two images, God's temple and body of Christ, the house from heaven (οἰκητήριον, II Cor 5:2) or building of God (κατοικητήριον, Eph 2:22) here refers to those ἐν Χριστῷ as they are incorporated into the body of Christ in whom the coming age has been fully actualized and who alone is individually present in the heavenlies. The corollary also follows: The 'tent-house' (II Cor 5:1) envisions primarily not the individual self (although this is included) but the whole ἐν Ἀδάμ corporeity which stands under death.⁵³

Paul's use of ἐνδύω supplements the pattern noted above. Christians 'put on' (ἐνδυσάμενοι, II Cor 5:3) Jesus Christ when, at conversion, they were incorporated into him (Gal 3:27; cf. Col 3:10) and are commanded to actualize individually this 'in Christ' reality in a continuing ethico-psychological transformation (Rom 8:14);⁵⁴ the new age is to be physically actualized in the individual believer when, at the parousia, death is swallowed up (κατεπόθη) and all ἐν Χριστῷ shall 'put on' immortality (I Cor 15:22f., 53f.). Paul's desire in II Cor 5:2ff. to 'put on' individually (ἐπενδύσασθαι, II Cor 5:2, 4) the heavenly house, i.e. the Lord Jesus Christ (cf. Rom 13:14), in order that mortality (θνητόν) may be swallowed up (καταποθῇ) by life is precisely parallel to I Cor 15 and should be understood of the parousia. Then the corporate inclusion (ἐνδύειν) will be individually actualized

⁵¹ Heb 8:2 is translated 'servant of the saints' by some Church fathers; this may be more accurate than is now realized, namely servant of the saints, i.e. of the 'tent.' Cf. Heb 3:6; *contra*, O. Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, Göttingen ³1984, 287f.

⁵² Cf. O. Michel, 'ναός,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 887f.; idem, 'οἰκοδομή,' *TDNT* 5 (1967/1954), 149; Acts 7:47f.; I Tim 3:15; Heb 3:2ff., 6; I Pet 2:5.

⁵³ Cf. Feuillet, (note 46); Eph 2:21; 3:6. Cf. Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58. Bultmann (note 42, 10f.) notes that καταλυθῇ may refer to the final destruction of the old age in the parousia. Cf. Mt 26:61; Mk 14:58; Phil 3:19 (ἐπίγεια).

⁵⁴ Cf. I Thess 5:8; Eph 4:24; 6:11; Col 3:12.

(ἐπενδύειν). While the 'tent-house' (as σῶμα ψυχικόν) and the 'house from heaven' (as σῶμα πνευματικόν) may be viewed in an individual perspective, this must be understood within the larger framework of the ἐν Ἀδάμ and ἐν Χριστῷ corporeity. This concept cannot be understood in terms of a gnostic or other anthropological dualism; for Paul posits neither a division of the self nor an escape from materiality at death but a 'changed' (ἀλλαγησόμεθα, I Cor 15:52)⁵⁵ psychosomatic physical organism which envelops and pervades the whole personality and finds its fulfillment in the deliverance of the whole man at the resurrection.⁵⁶

NAKEDNESS: ANTHROPOLOGICAL DUALISM OR ESCHATOLOGICAL JUDGMENT?

Another concept fundamental for an understanding of the apostle's train of thought is that contained in the two words, γυμνός and ἐκδύω. γυμνός has usually been interpreted, in terms of an anthropological dualism, as the 'naked' or disembodied intermediate state;⁵⁷ in like fashion ἐκδύσασθαι cannot 'mean anything else than the parting with the body of flesh.'⁵⁸ While some commentators more accurately (as we hope to show) have identified γυμνός with the fate of unbelievers, the exegesis has been bound up with a body-soul dualism. We have here, writes Oepke, 'das Schicksal der Nichtgläubigen zu verstehen,

⁵⁵ Nor is the qualification, 'as a garment,' in Heb 1:12 (if original) to be taken to suggest a Greek dualism. It is a familiar Old Testament word picture: Ps 102:26; Isa 50:9; 51:6. Cf. Michel (note 51), 58; Bultmann (note 42), 6, 10.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. F. Collange, *Enigmes de la deuxième épître aux Corinthiens*, Cambridge 1972, 217. Hettlinger (note 2, 187) poses the *non sequiter* that Paul, by abandoning 'the identity of material elements' in I Cor 15, undermines the logic of a 'material' resurrection altogether. Identity of atoms and materiality are surely not to be equated, and the whole chapter presupposes some kind of identity between the body sown and the body raised. Cf. I Cor 6:19, where this identity is basic to the argument. Also, it misrepresents Paul to interpret 'flesh and blood' (I Cor 15:50) as materiality. Cf. J. Jeremias, "Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God" (I Cor 15:50), *NTS* 2 (1955-56), 151ff.; Robinson (note 5), 20f., 31f., 78; Bultmann (note 2), I, 233f.; Methodius, *Discourse on the Resurrection*, 3,2,5f. (*ANF* VI, 374).

⁵⁷ E.g. Plummer (note 2), 147ff.; Schweitzer (note 6), 134; J. Hering, *La Seconde Épître de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens*, Paris 1958, 48; Lietzmann-Kümmel (note 42), 120; cf. J. N. Sevenster, 'Some Remarks on the ΓΥΜΝΟΕ in II Cor 5:3,' *Studia Paulina* (J. de Zwaan, *Festschrift*), Haarlem, 1953, 211. But see P. Barnett, *The Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1997, 258f., 263.

⁵⁸ Kennedy (note 6), 266. This, as far as the present writer is aware, is the unanimous conclusion of the commentators.

die im Sterben, vor oder bei der Parousie, ihren irdischen Leib verlieren, ohne doch den Himmelsleib zu haben, welcher den Gläubigen bei der Parousie wartet.⁵⁹ Although Paul (it is thought) derived the expression, and the dualism, from the Greek world,⁶⁰ he modified it in the light of his Hebrew background: for Plato and Philo the 'nakedness' of disembodiment was the goal of life; for Paul it was patently undesirable, and his use of the term a polemic against gnosticizing Judaizers in Corinth who depreciated material existence.⁶¹

The objection to this whole approach is that it presupposes an anthropological dualism absent from Paul elsewhere and that it is, in the present context, an awkward solution at best. What Paul shrinks from in 5:3 ('nakedness') he is said to embrace in 5:8 ('absence from the body').⁶² Almost certainly the 'Greek trail' has been a false detour; the more direct (and surely the more natural) route of New Testament and Septuagint usage provides a better approach.

It is not in Greek anthropology, but in Hebrew eschatology that the meaning of γυμνός and ἐκδύω in II Cor 5 is to be found. In the Old Testament defeat and captivity were viewed as the judgment of God upon sin. Nakedness, a term used of the abbreviated dress of slaves and war captives, came to have this connotation of guilt and judgment.⁶³ Such attire might be adopted in symbolic proclamation of the coming calamity. Thus Isaiah (20:2–4) goes 'naked' as a portent of God's verdict of destruction upon Egypt and Ethiopia; Micah (1:8) does the same regarding Judah. In the latter may be the additional thought of the prophet's participation in the guilt and judgment of his people.⁶⁴ Sometimes the ethical symbolism emphasizes the sin-guiltiness of man in the presence of a holy God with the element of impending judgment less explicit or absent. Fallen Adam 'heard the sound' of God and hid because he was 'naked' (Gen 3:10); Israel, 'naked' of virtue, is clothed with God's covenant blessings (Ezek

⁵⁹ A. Oepke, 'ἀπεκδύω,' γυμνός,' *TDNT* I, 318f.; II, 774. So Charles (note 2), I, 98: 'The soul of the faithless will appear naked in the next world.' Cf. W. Beyschlag, *New Testament Theology*, Edinburgh 1896, II, 270.

⁶⁰ E.g. Plato, *Cratylus* 403B; *Gorgias* 523E, 524D; Philo, *leg alleg* II, 55ff.; Origen, c. *Celsus*, II, 43.

⁶¹ Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 48), 314–318; Bultmann (note 42), 11f.; idem (note 2), I, 202.

⁶² The attempts of Bultmann (*ibid.*), Hettlinger (note 2, 185, 11), Sevenster (note 57, 207), and others to ease this contradiction have not been particularly convincing.

⁶³ E.g. Isa 47:3; Ezek 16:37; 23:29; Dan 4:30b LXX; Hos 2:3; Amos 2:16; cf. Isa 3:17; Hab 3:13; Zeph 2:14.

⁶⁴ Cf. also II Sam 15:30; 16:11f.

16:7f.);⁶⁵ even Sheol is bared under God's discerning eye (Job 26:6).

It is noteworthy that in the above passages γυμνός ('naked') is sometimes joined with ἐκδύω ('strip'),⁶⁶ sometimes with αἰσχύνη ('shame').⁶⁷ The last two are also found in combination. A singular instance occurs in Ezekiel where all three words are used in describing God's judgment on Jerusalem:

... that they may see all your nakedness (αἰσχύνην) ... I will give you into the hands of your lovers and ... they shall strip you (ἐκδύσουσιν) ... and leave you naked and bare (γυμνὴν καὶ ἀσχημονούσαν) (Ezek 16:37, 39).

And they shall also strip you (ἐκδύσουσιν) ... and leave you naked and bare (γυμνὴ καὶ αἰσχύνουσα) (Ezek 23:26, 29).⁶⁸

In the Old Testament, then, nakedness (or being stripped) and shame often denote the guilty under the glaring light of God's judgment and, used thus, are virtually equivalent terms. In early Judaism⁶⁹ and in the New Testament this equation continues, and the focus shifts from temporal to eschatological judgments which the former, in the old age, typified.⁷⁰ Thus, to be prepared for the messianic banquet is to have a 'wedding garment' (Mt 22:11). Without this white garb of righteousness even those within the professing community are naked and when Christ, as a thief, comes suddenly in his parousia, their nakedness and shame will be manifest (φανερωθῇ ἡ αἰσχύνη τῆς γυμνότητός σου).⁷¹

The ethical significance of γυμνός was properly understood in an earlier day.⁷² But with the rising emphasis upon *Religionsgeschichte* the

⁶⁵ The ethical element is to be inferred (cf. Ezek 16:36f.) although physical redemption from captivity may be the central thought.

⁶⁶ Hos 2:3; Isa 32:11.

⁶⁷ Isa 20:4f.; cf. Gen 2:25; Micah 1:11; Isa 47:3. Its synonym ἀσχημοσύνη is sometimes substituted in LXX-A (e.g. Ezek 23:18; Nahum 3:5).

⁶⁸ Of further significance is the fact that cognates of עָרָה ('make naked') are often translated αἰσχύνη by the LXX. Cf. Isa 43:3; Ezek 16:36f., 39; 22:10; 23:10, 18, 29; Nahum 3:5. עָרָה is always translated by γυμνός.

⁶⁹ This interpretation of some of the passages cited is present in the rabbis; e.g. Shab 114a on Isa 20:2; Ex R 46, 4 on Ezek 23:26; Hos 2:5; Lam R 24, 2 on Isa 22:8; 32:11.

⁷⁰ At least one of these passages (Hos 3:2) is within a *testimonia* 'text plot' in frequent use by the early Christian community and interpreted there, in a passage related to II Cor 5:1-10 (i.e. I Cor 15:55; Hos 13:14), of the eschatological 'day of the Lord.' We may assume that other prophetic judgments of the old aeon were similarly understood (e.g. Joel 2:26f., 32; Acts 2:19ff.; Rom 10:11ff.).

⁷¹ Rev 3:17f.; cf. 16:15; Mic 1:11; Heb 4:13.

⁷² J. Calvin, *The Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1948, II, 218; H. Ewald, *Die Sendschreiben*

Platonic and Gnostic parallels came to dominate the exegesis. This later interpretation fits neither the immediate grammar⁷³ nor the eschatological theme of the passage. With the equation of 'nakedness' and 'shame' in mind a not unlikely commentary on II Cor 5:3 may be found in the following paraphrased verses:

No one who believes in him will be stripped naked (καταισχυθήσεται, Rom 10:11).⁷⁴ Abide in him, so that when he appears we may have confidence and not shrink from him in nakedness (αἰσχυθῶμεν ἅπ' αὐτοῦ) at his parousia (I Jn 2:28).

Both γυμνός and ἐκδύω in II Cor 5 have the judgment scene in view.⁷⁵ The opposite of being clothed upon by the house from heaven, i.e. the righteous body of Christ, is not to be disembodied but to stand in judgment ἐν Ἀδάμ, i.e. in the body that is naked in guilt and shame. It is not at death but at the parousia that those without the wedding garment (Mt 22:11), the spiritual body (I Cor 15:44, 53f.), the heavenly house (II Cor 5:1f.) to put on will be discovered stripped and naked (II Cor 5:3f.).⁷⁶

des Apostels Paulus, Göttingen 1856, 271; H. Cremer, *Biblio-Theological Lexicon*, Edinburgh 1880, 168; cf. *Festschrift für Adolf Julicher*, edd. W. Sattler et al., Tübingen 1927, 93ff.; A. Oepke, 'γυμνός,' *TDNT* 1 (1964/1933), 773f.

⁷³ Cremer (note 72) points out that οὐ γυμνοί is co-ordinate with ἐνδυσάμενοι (not ἐνδεδυμένοι), i.e. to be found 'clothed' means to be found 'not naked,' and, therefore, 'if we are not naked' is the condition prerequisite to ἐπενδύσασθαι of 5:2. γυμνοί, then, must be taken in an ethical – not metaphysical – sense. Also, 'we do not want to be stripped' cannot properly be softened to 'not that we would . . .,' cf. Hettlinger (note 2), 191.

⁷⁴ Cf. Rom 9:33. Isa 28:16 refers to a deliverance from judgment, and the LXX (followed by the New Testament) translates פָּרַח ('flee') by καταισχύνω, probably with the same sense as the above cited contexts. Cf. I Sam 20:38f. and Ps 55:9 where פָּרַח may, as a double meaning, signify 'flee.' So F. Brown–S. R. Driver–C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament*, Oxford 1977, 301 on Isa 28:16.

⁷⁵ I Cor 15:37 is no support for the common exegesis of II Cor 5:3. 'Naked grain' is a completely different imagery and, in any case, refers not to a disembodied soul but to the present body. Nor does the Pauline compound, ἀπεκδύομαι, when used of death (namely putting off 'the body of flesh' or 'the old man,' Col 2:11; 3:9), imply a dualism. Both 'flesh' and 'the old man,' as a number of studies have shown (e.g. W. G. Kümmel, *Das Bild des Menschen im Neuen Testament*, Zürich 1948, 22f.; Robinson, *Body*, 17–26, 31f.; Bultmann, *Theology*, I, 232ff.), refer to the whole man in his sinful and mortal relation to the old aeon and mean here simply our identification with Christ's death. Perhaps judgment (of the body of the flesh) is the thought of Col 2:11; certainly so in Col 2:15. Cf. E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce, *Ephesians and Colossians*, Grand Rapids 1957, 235, 239f.

⁷⁶ Cf. Robinson (note 5), 77: 'Ἐπίσκεπθαι is almost a technical term for being 'discovered' at the parousia.' Cf. I Pet 1:7; II Pet 3:14; Phil 3:9.

THE MORTAL BODY VS. PRESENCE WITH THE LORD

The assumption that 'away from the body' (ἐκδημέω, II Cor 5:8) describes the intermediate state may be traced throughout the history of exegesis⁷⁷ and is, apparently, the consensus of all modern opinion. In view of the influence of Greek philosophy from a very early period one would expect the exegesis to take this direction. Not all, however, have been entirely comfortable in relating the verse to Paul's eschatological views elsewhere or to the present context.⁷⁸ Certainly Paul never views death as divorcing Christians from Christ,⁷⁹ but this can be so only because their incorporation into the resurrection body of Christ guarantees their resurrection. Although the corporate realm remains inviolate, in the individual death continues to reign. If the dead are not raised, those 'who have died in Christ have perished' (I Cor 15:18). Only at the parousia will the Scripture be fulfilled, 'Death is swallowed up in victory' (I Cor 15:54). It becomes necessary, therefore, to scrutinize anew the traditional interpretation. If the foregoing exegesis of II Cor 5 is correct, it opens the way to a different understanding of the present verse.

On a number of occasions Paul uses σῶμα to refer to the self in its solidarity with sin and death. There is usually a qualifying phrase such as the mortal body (Rom 6:12), the body of sin (Rom 6:6), of death (Rom 7:24), of humility (Phil 3:21), of dishonour (I Cor 15:43), or the natural body (I Cor 15:44f.). But this is not always the case; and even the immediate context speaks of deeds done 'in the body,' i.e. in the mortal earthly life.⁸⁰ Robinson correctly interprets II Cor 5:6: "At home in the body" means "in the solidarities and securities of earthly existence".⁸¹

It is probably a misconception to identify 'away from the body' (II Cor 5:8) with the intermediate state at all. Rather 'away' should be understood merely as absence from the solidarities of the mortal body, the σῶμα ψυχικόν; and as the earlier verses show, 'at home with the Lord' with which it is equated has reference to the σῶμα πνευματικόν life (I Cor 15:44) in which the solidarities of the new

⁷⁷ It is found as early as Clement of Alexandria (*Stromata*, IV, xxvi) and Tertullian (*de resur. carnis*, xliii).

⁷⁸ E.g. II Cor 5:4 (ἐκδύω).

⁷⁹ Cf. de Langhe (note 8), 182; Feuillet (note 46), 395; Rom 8:38; 14:8f.; Phil 1:23.

⁸⁰ II Cor 5:10; cf. Robinson, *Body*, 29; Rom 8:13; Col 2:11; Heb 13:3.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* See below, 165-178.

resurrection age are realized.⁸² Thus, the desire of Paul in 5:8 is identical with that which he expressed in 5:4, namely to be 'clothed upon' at the parousia.⁸³ This interpretation is borne out in 5:7 where 'away from the Lord' and 'at home with the Lord' are contrasted as 'faith' and 'sight'⁸⁴ and, further, in 5:9f. where 'at home' apparently refers to the parousia judgment.⁸⁵

CONCLUSION

The structure of II Cor 5:1–10 forms a strikingly coherent series of antitheses which are continued from II Cor 4, and which contrast the corporate existence of Christians ἐν Ἀδάμ and ἐν Χριστῷ. The individual actualization of the latter corporeity at the parousia is always in view.⁸⁶ On the one hand man in his tent-house (5:1) mortality (5:5) faces, in the final abolition of this age, Adamic nakedness (5:3) and dissolution (5:1). His hope lies in his solidarity with the age-to-come through the resurrected body of Christ. Yet for those in the mortal σῶμα (5:6) this remains hope, apprehended by faith (5:7), attested by good works (5:10), and actualized only in the ἀπαρβών of the indwelling Spirit (5:5). Paul yearns for the day when mortality shall be swallowed up by life (5:4), faith shall become sight (5:7), 'away' shall become 'at home' (5:8), when the solidarities of the new age shall be individually actualized in putting on the σῶμα πνευματικόν, the house from heaven (5:2). This consummation shall come in the judgment (5:10) when the Day shall reveal every man's status (I Cor 3:13).

⁸² Cf. Sevenster (note 8), 296; W. Grundmann, 'ἐκδημέω,' *TDNT* 2 (1964/1935), 63f.

⁸³ Note also the repeated use of οἶδα in v. 1 and v. 6.

⁸⁴ The 'vision of God' is realized at the parousia. Cf. Rom 8:24; I Cor 13:12; Heb 2:8f. (I Cor 15:25ff.); I Pet 1:5, 8; I Jn 3:2f.

⁸⁵ Some commentators, logically impelled by their 'intermediate state' exegesis of the preceding verses, take II Cor 5:10 to refer to a judgment at death – a brand new concept in Pauline thought. Others, recognizing the incongruity of this interpretation with Paul's eschatology, more properly apply it to the 'last day.' Cf. Kennedy, *op. cit.*, 193; Lietzmann, *op. cit.*, 122; Knox, *op. cit.*, 141; Schweitzer (note 6), 310; Bultmann (note 2) I, 288; Cullmann, *Time* (note 6), 23; Robinson, (note 5), 19.

⁸⁶ Paul's concern that some Christians may be found 'naked' in the judgment is not contrary to his teaching on predestination or perseverance (Lietzmann [note 42], 199). It is only the recognition, expressed elsewhere, that one's awareness of election is based upon subjective and existential criteria – genuine profession, witness of the Spirit, good works. One may deceive oneself. Cf. I Cor 9:27; II Cor 6:1; 13:5; Gal 4:11; Phil 3:12f.; I Thess 3:5; II Tim 2:19; 4:7. All in all, Paul is confident; II Cor 5:5; cf. Phil 1:6.

If one recognizes that, as in the concept of corporate solidarity generally,⁸⁷ a certain oscillation between the 'corporate' and the 'individual' is intertwined in Paul's thought-pattern, the antitheses of II Cor 5:1-10 may be visualized in the following manner:

ἐν Ἀδάμ	ἐν Χριστῷ
the old age	the new age
tent-house	house from heaven
naked	clothed
mortality	life
faith	sight
at home in the (Adamic) body	away from the (Adamic) body
away from the Lord	at home with the Lord
in the (Adamic) body	at Christ's judgment seat

The idea of a 'spiritual' resurrection at death continues to be a widely accepted interpretation of Paul (even among those who give a technical place to a future bodily resurrection).⁸⁸ This view, however, fails to appreciate the truth that H. Lüdemann and R. Kabisch saw almost a century ago: redemption for Paul is physical.⁸⁹ While its advocates speak of Jerusalem, one suspects that the accent is Athenian.

Although the present passage has been a means to interpret Paul's 'developed' theology in this fashion, the parallels in Rom 8 and I Cor 15 alone are of such character as to cast grave doubt upon such exegesis. And if the above analysis is correct, II Cor 5 cannot be used at all to illustrate a changed Pauline theology of the intermediate state: the passage simply does not deal with the intermediate state. The contrasts throughout are between this age and the age-to-come and are completely within the framework of Paul's parousia eschatology and his concept of corporate solidarity. Perhaps, as Professor Davies suggests,⁹⁰ the idea of an intermediate state has no place in Paul's thought here; but if so, it has an explanation very different from that which Davies has given. It must be understood, as Cullmann's valuable essay has suggested,⁹¹ in terms of an altered or suspended time factor for the dead and not as an anticipated

⁸⁷ Cf. the study of corporate solidarity in Pauline thought: R. P. Shedd, *Man in Community*, London 1958, 38ff. See S. W. Son, cited above, 48n

⁸⁸ E.g. Harris, *Immortal* (note 24), 100-107. See below, Chapter XIII, note 65, p. 177.

⁸⁹ Cf. Schweitzer (note 1), 63; E. E. Ellis, *Paul and his Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids 1979, 24f.

⁹⁰ Davies (note 3), 318.

⁹¹ Cullmann, *Immortality* (note 6), 57; see below, 177.

fulfilment at death of the parousia consummation. Paul's hope here, as throughout his epistles, is not in the abiding individual but in the abiding Christ; not in the immortal soul of Platonic idealism, but in 'the God who can bring the dead to life and can call to Himself the things that do not exist as though they did' (Rom 4:17, Williams).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ΣΩΜΑ IN FIRST CORINTHIANS

In Paul's letters the nature of man¹ is more an underlying assumption than a specific topic of instruction, but it is nonetheless decisive for understanding the apostle's teaching. In current writings it is most often discussed under a variety of anthropological concepts – body, flesh, face, mouth, eyes, soul, spirit, mind, guts, conscience, heart.²

Σῶμα (body) is of special interest since it is an essential element in a number of significant and problematic issues in First Corinthians, namely, the teaching on sexual ethics (I Cor 5–7), the Lord's Supper (I Cor 10–11), the gifts of ministry (I Cor 12), and the resurrection (I Cor 15). Σῶμα also has a specific bearing on Paul's anthropology, that is, (1) its individual and corporate dimensions and, in relation to the individual, (2) its monistic or dualistic nature. The first question has to do with understanding existence 'in Christ' and 'in Adam,' the second (especially) with the 'intermediate state' between the individual's death and his resurrection at Christ's parousia on the last day.³ A deeper understanding of σῶμα, then, may give us greater insight into many elements of Paul's theology.

THE SHAPE OF PAULINE ANTHROPOLOGY

'The body' in Paul's usage can be better understood by comparing it with other anthropological terms. It may signify one's person, that is, the ego or self, particularly in one's relationship to the external

¹ The term (like corresponding masculine pronouns below) is used here generically to embrace male and female, individual and corporate being. That the same term is also used for 'male' in English and in biblical languages is, however, not without theological significance. See Ellis (note 38), 52–86.

² Cf. R. Bultmann, *Theology of the New Testament*, 2 vols., London 1955, I, 192–226; H. Conzelmann, *An Outline of the Theology of the New Testament*, London 1969, 176–184; D. Guthrie, *New Testament Theology*, Downers Grove IL 1981, 163–176; G. E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament*, Grand Rapids 1974, 457–478; H. Ridderbos, *Paul*, Grand Rapids 1975, 114–126.

³ I Cor 1:7; 3:13; 5:5; 15:22–23; cf. 15:52; Jn 6:39–40; 11:24.

world. It appears this way in such phrases as 'to deliver my body' (myself); 'to present your bodies' (yourselves); 'that . . . Christ may be magnified in my body' (me).⁴ Similarly, 'your bodies are members of Christ' (I Cor 6:15) is no different than 'you are . . . members [of Christ's body]' (I Cor 12:27). 'The one who raised Christ from the dead will also make alive your *mortal bodies*' (Rom 8:11)⁵ is no different than 'God both raised Christ and will raise *us* up' (I Cor 6:14). Such passages justify Rudolf Bultmann's conclusion that for Paul 'man does not *have* a σῶμα; he *is* σῶμα.'⁶ Yet, *pace* Bultmann, σῶμα is always physical being and can be identified with the dead self no less than with the living.⁷

Body may also be equated with 'flesh' (σάρξ).⁸ For example, 'the one joined to a prostitute is one *body* [with her], for it says "the two shall be one *flesh*"' (I Cor 6:16; cf. Eph 5:30–32). At II Cor 4:10–11 'in our *body*' is the same as 'the mortal [*body*].' The *flesh* of living creatures and the heavenly and earthly *bodies* appear to refer equally to physical realities (I Cor 15:39–41; cf. 15:44; II Cor 5:1, 8). 'The marks of Jesus in my *body*' (Gal 6:17) is synonymous with 'the afflictions of Christ in my *flesh*' (Col 1:24; cf. Gal 4:13), and both are equivalent to Paul's person: 'that *I* may . . . know . . . the fellowship of [Christ's] sufferings' (Phil 3:9–10; cf. 1:29–30). 'No good thing dwells

⁴ I Cor 13:3; Rom 12:1; Phil 1:20.

⁵ I.e., 'your dead bodies.' Cf. Deut 21:23; Isa 26:19 (נבִלֵה). Rom 8:11, like Phil 3:21, could be interpreted, in accordance with rabbinic tradition, to mean that the resurrection of the righteous is the revivification of the mortal body followed by its immortalization. But I Cor 15:42–43, 52 makes clear that the two events are simultaneous; Rom 8:11 and Phil 3:21 underscore only that the present mortal body is the object of the future transformation. Cf. Eccl. Rabbah on 1:4: 'As a generation passes away, so it comes [at the resurrection]; . . . if one dies lame or blind [so] he comes. . . .' (R. Hanina); G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, New York 1971 (1930), II, 380–381.

⁶ Bultmann (note 2) I, 194–195, who, however, mistakenly understands σῶμα as man in relationship to himself (195–199). But see R. Jewett, *Paul's Anthropological Terms*, Leiden 1971, 209–212.

⁷ Rom 8:11; I Cor 15:44. Cf. R. H. Gundry, *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids 1987, 164–177, who identifies the person, however, not as σῶμα but dualistically, as the σῶμα + the spirit (or soul) that does not experience death (cf. 159) and presumably that is not a part of the created world of nature. Similarly, with a philosophical approach, cf. J. W. Cooper, *Body, Soul and Life Everlasting*, Grand Rapids 1989, 147–195.

⁸ As in the Septuagint, where both terms can translate the Hebrew בָּשָׂר. For an antecedent usage at Qumran, cf. K. G. Kuhn, 'New Light on Temptation, Sin and Flesh in the New Testament,' *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, ed. K. Stendahl, New York 1957, 103–105; J. M. G. Barclay, *Obedying the Truth*, Edinburgh 1988, 189–191, 205–206, and the literature cited.

in *me*, that is, in my *flesh*' (Rom 7:18). Such texts show, I believe, that body and flesh are not parts of the person but the whole person looked at from a particular standpoint,⁹ specifically, the person under sin and under death, as he is related concretely to others.

Body and flesh, as well as face (προσῶπον), mouth (στόμα), and eyes (ὀφθαλμοί), ordinarily refer to the self outwardly. The soul (ψυχή), heart (καρδία), guts (σπλάγχνα), mind (νοῦς, διανοία, φρόνημα), spirit (πνεῦμα), conscience (συνείδησις) refer to the self inwardly, that is, to 'man as a striving, willing and purposing self.'¹⁰ These terms are also used equivalently. For example, 'to refresh his *spirit*' (II Cor 7:13) is the same as 'to refresh my *guts*' (Plm 7, 20). To be 'absent in the *flesh* but with you in *spirit*' (Col 2:5) is the same as to be 'bereft of you . . . in *face* not in *heart*' (I Thess 2:17; cf. II Cor 5:12). 'I have you in my *heart*' is parallel to 'I long after all of you in the *guts* [given me] from Christ Jesus' (Phil 1:7-8). So also, 'you stand firm in one *spirit*, in one *soul*' (Phil 1:27).¹¹ The pollution of *spirit* (II Cor 7:1) is inclusive of the futility of the *mind* (Eph 4:17). All these terms, external and internal, refer to or include the whole person, even if it is the person looked at from different points of view.

Sometimes, as in the Old Testament, an evident distinction is made between the person outwardly and the person inwardly,¹² sometimes the two perspectives are merged. For example, a distinction is evident in the phrases, 'if you confess in your *mouth* . . . and believe in your *heart*' (Rom 10:9), 'that she may be holy in *body* and *spirit*' (I Cor 7:34), and 'every pollution of *flesh* and *spirit*' (II Cor 7:1). However, it is less clear between 'their *heart* (or *mind*) was darkened' (Rom 1:21; Eph 4:18) and 'their *eyes* be darkened' (Rom 11:10) or

⁹ Similarly, Bultmann (note 2), I, 192-201, 227; Conzelmann (note 2), 176-179; W. G. Kümmel, *Man in the New Testament*, London 1963, 38-71; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Body*, London 1953, 16. However, *pace* Conzelmann, the concepts are never ethically 'neutral' since they are related to death and death to sin. 'Flesh and blood' (I Cor 15:50) is a Hebrew idiom for mortal man; cf. (H. L. Strack and) P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, München 1922-1928, I, 730 (on Mt 16:17).

¹⁰ Bultmann (note 2), I, 205; cf. 207, 209, 211. *Pace* Bultmann, it is these terms and not σῶμα that may be defined as man in 'relationship to himself' (199).

¹¹ Cf. G. F. Hawthorne, *Philippians*, Waco TX 1983, 25, 56-57. σπλάγχνα can refer to various inner parts of the body; the closest English metaphor is 'heart' or 'guts.'

¹² E.g. Deut 29:4 (heart, eyes, ears); I Sam 16:7 (eyes, heart); Ps 10:6-9 (heart, mouth, eyes); 73:26 (flesh, heart); Jer 12:2 (mouth, kidneys); Lam 2:11 (eyes, guts, liver); 3:16-17 (teeth, soul).

between 'your whole *spirit* and *soul* and *body*.'¹³ It virtually disappears in the expression 'our *mouth* is open to you . . . , our *heart* is wide' (II Cor 6:11).

Similarly, the terms for the 'inward' self are sometimes equivalent to those for the 'outward' self. For example, the phrases, 'God whom I serve in my *spirit*' (Rom. 1:9) or 'in a pure *conscience*' (II Tim 1:3), are essentially the same as 'to present your *bodies* . . . to God, which is your spiritual service' (λογικὴν λατρείαν).¹⁴ 'The Spirit in our *hearts*' (II Cor 1:22) is apparently no different from 'your *body* is the temple of the Holy Spirit in *you*' (I Cor 6:19). 'I had no rest in my *spirit*' is equivalent to 'our *flesh* had no rest, but [we were] afflicted in every respect – outwardly conflicts, inwardly fears,' (II Cor 2:13; 7:5). Here 'flesh' appears to embrace the person both in the outer relationship with others and in the inner relationship with the self. So also 'the lusts of the flesh' (Gal 5:16, 19–21; Eph 2:3) are inclusive of the pollution of the *spirit* or *conscience* (II Cor 7:1; cf. I Cor 8:7).

Like the Old Testament and unlike Platonic body/soul or body/spirit dualism, both the inward and outward aspects of the person refer to physical being.¹⁵ This appears most strikingly in a teaching of Jesus: 'Do not be anxious for your *soul*, what you shall eat . . . , nor for your *body*, what you shall put on' (Mt 6:25); but it is also present in Paul. As may be seen in the above examples, (1) both aspects are expressed in terms of physical organs even when psychological functions are in view. (2) The inward aspect can even be identified with the outward terminology as, for example, in 'the *fleshly* tablets of the *heart*' (II Cor 3:3).¹⁶ (3) The two aspects are contrasted not in terms of physical and nonphysical, nature-stuff and the spirit-world, but in terms of the visible and invisible, the manifest and the hidden:

He is not a Jew who is one outwardly,
Nor is circumcision that which is outward in the *flesh*.
But he is a Jew who is one inwardly (κρύπτω),

¹³ I.e. every aspect of your being; I Thess 5:23. It refers to the entire person at the parousia of Christ, not to separable 'parts' of the personality, and is equivalent to Mk 12:30 where four terms are used. Cf. E. Best, *The First and Second Epistle to the Thessalonians*, London 1972, 243–244. Otherwise: G. G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Thessalonians*, Grand Rapids 1982 (1904), 132–133.

¹⁴ Rom 12:1. λογικός 'belongs to the level of the νοῦς . . . or the πνευματικόν . . .', G. Kittel, 'λογικός,' *TDNT* IV (1967), 142. Cf. I Pet 2:2, 5.

¹⁵ Cf. A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1949, 7–88.

¹⁶ Cf. also 'the mind of the flesh' (Rom 8:6; Col 2:18).

And circumcision is that of the *heart*
In *spirit* not in *letter* (Rom 2:28–29).¹⁷

The term 'spirit' is of special interest because it has a number of connotations and because, as an anthropological concept, it has traditionally been sharply contrasted with 'body.' In New Testament usage it may refer to (1) the Holy Spirit, (2) demonic spirits,¹⁸ (3) the individual's guardian angel and/or doubleganger,¹⁹ (4) angelic spirits of ministry, and (5) the human spirit. The last two bear upon our topic. The term 'spirit,' like soul, may refer to the individual's natural vitality or life that is taken away at death²⁰ or, probably witnessed by Paul, to his inner disposition.²¹ More important for our present concern are the angelic spirits who undergird, facilitate, and empower (especially) the spiritual gifts of inspired speech and discernment. They are identified most explicitly in Heb 1:13–14 ('ministering spirits'), but they also appear in Paul's teachings. They are those termed 'the spirits of the prophets' or simply 'spirits' or, when Paul prays in tongues, 'my spirit' (I Cor 14:32, 12, 14–15).²² 'My spirit' in I Cor 5:4 also probably refers to Paul's angelic spirit.

In I Cor 5:3–5 Paul invokes a judicial act of the Holy Spirit in which the incestuous offender, like Ananias and Sapphira, is sentenced to death.²³ Although personally absent, Paul is, like Elisha, present in his prophetic spirit to discern and judge (κρίνειν) 'as though present.' He effects this 'in the name of our Lord Jesus' when 'you

¹⁷ There may be a chiasmic pattern. Cf. I Cor 4:5; II Cor 3:3.

¹⁸ I Cor 12:3, 10; II Cor 11:3–4; Eph 2:2; I Thess 5:21–22; II Thess 2:2; I Tim 4:1; perhaps Gal 1:8; II Tim 1:7; cf. Lk 4:33; I Pet 3:19; I Jn 4:1–2; Rev 16:13–14; Cf. J. E. Frame, *Epistles of Saint Paul to the Thessalonians*, Edinburgh 1912, 205–209, esp. 206: 'Test all things' (I Thess 5:21) means 'all kinds of spirits' (5:19ff.; cf. I Cor 12:10).

¹⁹ In Lk 24:36–39 the supposed 'spirit' is assumed to look like Jesus (37) but is distinguished from him: 'It is I myself' (39). Cf. Mt 18:10; Acts 12:15; Billerbeck (note 9), I, 781–783; II, 707–708.

²⁰ Mt 27:50; Lk 8:55; Acts 5:10 (ἐξέψυχεν); 7:59; cf. Mt 2:20; Lk 12:20; Acts 20:10; perhaps II Cor 7:13. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *NBD*, 697–701.

²¹ I Cor 7:34; II Cor 2:13; 12:18; Phil 1:27; perhaps I Cor 4:21; II Cor 7:13. But see Jewett (note 6), 170–172, 184–185, 190–192, who ascribes all such texts to the divine spirit apportioned to believers. Cf. Lk 1:47 (soul = spirit); Jn 13:21.

²² E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, Tübingen 1978, 27–43 (= NTS 20 [1973–74], 131–143); cf. J. Weiss, *Der erste Korintherbrief*, Göttingen 1970 (1910), 327–328. Cf. also I Cor 2:12b; 12:10; 13:1; perhaps Rom 1:9. An angelic prophetic spirit is also probably in mind at II Tim 4:22: 'The Lord be with your spirit; grace be with you,' cf. Gal 6:18; Plm 25. For a false or demonic spirit, similarly manifested, see note 18.

²³ So, E. Käsemann, *New Testament Questions for Today*, London 1969, 70–73. Cf. Acts 5:1–11; 13:9–12; Gal 1:9; I Tim 1:20; Heb 2:14.

and my spirit are assembled with the power of our Lord Jesus.' 'My spirit' is hardly a human faculty,²⁴ and it is best understood as the angelic spirit gifted to Paul in his ministry as an apostle.²⁵ While this interpretation will appear strange to many modern readers, it accords with the attested experience of angelic spirits by some Old Testament prophets.²⁶ Paul did not have an Enlightenment philosopher's one-dimensional world-view that excludes the reality and/or the influence of the spirit-world upon the natural world. Also, like some Old Testament prophets, he states that he had participated in what was probably a heavenly 'council of Yahweh'²⁷ and had personally experienced the influence of at least one evil spirit.²⁸

On this reading I Cor 5:3-5 offers no support to an anthropological dualism in which Paul's 'spirit' (or 'real self') is active, separated and distinct from his body.²⁹ The phrase, 'whether in the body or apart from the body' (ἐκτὸς τοῦ σώματος, II Cor 12:2), concerning Paul's rapture into the third heaven, raises a similar question. Yet the identical idiom is found in I Cor 6:18: Every sin except fornication is 'apart from the body.' In II Cor 12 as in I Cor 6 the idiom only distinguishes events of an internal character from those that include external bodily involvement and does not refer to a separation of the ego as 'soul' from one's bodily self.³⁰ This is indicated

²⁴ Rightly, A. Schlatter, *Paulus der Bote Jesu*, Stuttgart 1969 (1934), 176. Otherwise: C. K. Barrett, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, London 1968, 123 (present in 'his thoughts').

²⁵ Similarly, Jewett (note 6), 197-200: 'The apportioned spirit . . . [is] distinguished, if only implicitly, from the Holy Spirit' (199, cf. 189-190). Chrysostom (Homily 15, 3; *NPNF* 12¹, 84) reads I Cor 5:3 in terms of II Kgs 5:26.

²⁶ E.g., the *angelus interpret*; Ezek 40:2-4; Dan 7:16; 8:15; 9:21-22; 10:5-12; Zech 1:9; 2:3 *passim*; cf. Rev 4:1.

²⁷ II Cor 12:1-4, 7; I Kgs 22:19-22; Isa 6; Jer 1:9; 23:18, 22; cf. Gen 1:26; 3:22; Job 1:6-12; Ezek 1:28-2:3; Amos 3:7. Cf. Ellis (note 22), 42-43 (on II Cor 12); H. W. Robinson, *Inspiration and Revelation in the Old Testament*, 4th ed, Oxford 1956, 167-170; J. Lindblom, *Prophecy in Ancient Israel*, Oxford 1967, 112-113; idem, *Gesichte und Offenbarungen*, Lund 1968, 42-45 (on II Cor 12). Otherwise: R. N. Whybray, *The Heavenly Counsellor in Isaiah xl.13-14*, Cambridge 1971, who treats the text as expressing religious 'ideas' rather than as reflecting prophetic experiences.

²⁸ II Cor 12:8. Paul's statements elsewhere about good and evil spirits are also not made in a vacuum and probably reflect not only his personal convictions but also his prophetic discernment of their reality. Cf. I Cor 2:12; 12:10; 13:1; II Cor 11:4; Gal 1:8; II Thess 2:2; I Tim 4:1.

²⁹ *Contra* Gundry (note 7), 141-142.

³⁰ W. Beyschlag, 'Die Bekehrung des Apostels Paulus,' *TSK* (1864), 207: The idiom refers to the "range" and "reach" of the inward senses' (cited in H. A. W. Meyer, *Epistles to the Corinthians*, New York 1884, 674, on II Cor 12:2). Apparently universally otherwise: Among others cf. R. P. Martin, 2 *Corinthians*, Waco TX 1986,

by Paul's classification of the experience under 'visions and revelations' and by similar prophetic vision experiences attested elsewhere.³¹

Judged by his terminology, then, Paul regards the individual as a unitary being who may be viewed from different perspectives but who exists wholly within the present natural creation. In this context Paul represents the body as the essential person considered from a particular viewpoint. However, in his employment of 'body' he speaks not only of individual entities but also of corporate entities. We may now turn to that aspect of his theology.

THE CORPORATE BODY

The corporate 'body' in the Apostle's letters denotes primarily the sexually united couple and the church as the 'body of Christ'.³² The usage finds its immediate antecedent in Jesus' teachings on divorce and at the Last Supper,³³ dominical traditions that Paul refers to in I Corinthians:³⁴

He who made them . . . said,
'The two shall become one flesh' (Mt 19:4-5; cf. Gen 2:24).
Jesus took bread . . . and gave it to them, saying,
'This is my body' (Lk 22:19).

Paul's usage has a more distant but equally important background in the Old Testament conception of corporate personality.³⁵

400-401. Philoxenus (*Letters* 3) uses ἀρπάζειν ('rapture') of Ezekiel's prophetic experiences (cited in G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Lexicon*, Oxford 1961, 229).

³¹ II Cor 12:1. Cf. Ezek 1:1; 8:1-4; Zech 3:1; 4:1-2; Lk 10:18; Rev 4:1-2 *passim*. See note 27. A 'vision' state of mind may be perceived by a prophet as an awakening and the normal state of mind as a sleep. In this framework it is understandable that Paul might be uncertain whether his experience was 'in the body' or in vision. Cf. Lindblom, *Prophecy* (note 27), 144, 180-181.

³² I Cor 6:16; 12:27; Eph 5:30-32.

³³ Mt 19:4-9 = Mk 10:2-12 is the dominical exposition from which the sayings in Mt 5:32 and Lk 16:18 proceed. Matthew provides the more original form of the teaching. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Biblical Interpretation in the New Testament Church,' *Mikra* (= *Compendia* II, 1), ed. M. J. Mulder, Assen 1988, 707f. = idem, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991, 96f.

³⁴ I Cor 7:10-11; 11:23-25; cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 70ff. See above, 32-37.

³⁵ Cf. H. W. Robinson, *Corporate Personality in Ancient Israel*, Philadelphia 1964; J. de Fraine, *Adam and the Family of Man*, New York 1965, 13-233; A. R. Johnson, *The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody*, Cardiff 1979, 10-11, *passim*; J. S. Kaminsky, *Corporate Responsibility in the Hebrew Bible*, Sheffield UK 1995; see S. W. Son, cited above, 48n. Otherwise: J. R. Rogerson, *Anthropology and the Old Testament*, Atlanta 1979.

Both in its familial and in its christological expression the corporate body represents no mere metaphor but a reality no less ontological than the individual body. It is a conception difficult to comprehend in modern Western culture, with our nominalist mindset and our exaltation of the individual, but it is a *sine qua non* for understanding the apostle Paul. As 'body of Christ' it represents the 'outward' expression of an even more frequent 'inward' Pauline idiom, existence 'in Christ'.³⁶

'The body of Christ' and 'in Christ' stand in contrast to 'the body of Adam' and 'in Adam',³⁷ and all four phrases denote spheres of existence in which the individual is incorporated and implicated. The two spheres = two bodies = two houses = two men may be designated and contrasted by a variety of idioms:

In Adam	In Christ (I Cor 15:22)
In the flesh	In the Spirit (Rom 8:8-9; cf. I Cor 7:28; 12:13)
In the flesh	In the Lord (Plm 16; cf. II Cor 10:3-4)
In the body [of Adam]	Away from the body [of Adam] (II Cor 5:6-8, 10; cf. Rom 8:10; Heb 13:3)
The body of sin	Life in Christ (Rom 6:6, 11)
The body of death	The body of Christ (Rom 7:24-25; cf. 7:4; Col 1:22)
The body of the flesh	The body of Christ (Col 2:11, 17-19; cf. Rom 13:14; I Cor 5:5; 10:16-17)
Soulish body	Spiritual body (I Cor 15:44-45)
Mortal [body]	[Body] in immortality (I Cor 15:42, 53; cf. II Cor 5:4)
Earthly House	House from God (II Cor 5:1; cf. I Cor 3:9; Gal 6:10; Eph 2:19-21; I Tim 3:15)
The soulish man	The spiritual man (I Cor 2:14-15; II Cor 12:2)
The first man	The second man (I Cor 15:47)
The man from earth	The man from heaven (I Cor 15:47)
The outward man	The inward man (II Cor 4:16; Rom 7:22; Eph 3:16)
The old man	The new man (Rom 6:6; Eph 2:15; 4:22, 24; Col 3:9-10)

³⁶ The 'locative of sphere' force of the idiom, 'in Christ,' was demonstrated by G. A. Deissmann, *Die neutestamentliche Formel 'in Christo Jesu,'* Marburg 1892.

³⁷ I Cor 15:22. The specific idiom, 'the body of Adam,' appears implicitly in II Cor 5:6, 8, 10. See above, Chapter XII, 161-164.

In some of these texts the corporate Adam or the corporate Christ is primarily in view, in others the individual being implicated in the Adamic and/or in the Christic corporeity. Yet in all of them and under the several terms the corporate dimension of one's being is indicated as Adamic man and/or Christic man.³⁸ Thus, 'the outward man' is the believer as his or her life is still determined by the corporeity in Adam; 'the inward man' or 'the new man,' the believer as determined by the new corporeity in Christ. While believers have put on (ἐνδύειν) 'the new man' (Col 3:10) or 'the house from heaven' (II Cor 5:3) corporately, they still long for the individual actualization of that reality in the parousia of Christ (ἐπενδύειν, II Cor 5:2). 'To put on the new man' (Eph 4:24) is the same as 'to put on Christ' (Gal 3:27; Rom 13:14); and by implication 'to put off the old man' (Eph 4:22), who is described as 'the body of sin' (Rom 6:6), is to put off the Adamic man. Similarly, the 'soulis' and the 'spiritual' bodies are interpreted in terms of Adam and of Christ (I Cor 15:44-45).

In Chapter XII above I have sought to explain how Paul relates the past event, i.e. of the change in the believer's *corporate* identity from Adam to Christ, to the present and future (parousia) *individual* actualization of that changed identity.³⁹ In the present chapter I address only the implications of Paul's anthropological assumptions for certain teachings in First Corinthians.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHICS AND FOR THE FUTURE LIFE

The apostle's strong condemnation of sexual intercourse outside marriage is rooted in his understanding of the body. It is generally reflected in the vice lists that he employs⁴⁰ and specifically concerns not only fornication with a prostitute but also an incestuous, presumably an adulterous, relationship; homosexual sodomy (homophilia and pedophilia); and lesbianism.⁴¹ Since it is apparently based in part upon Jesus' use of Gen 2:24 to condemn divorce and remarriage as

³⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Lanham MD 1998, 10-14.

³⁹ See above, 147-164.

⁴⁰ Πορνεία is prominent in the lists at Rom 1:29-31; I Cor 5:10-11; 6:9-10; II Cor 12:20-21; Gal 5:19-21; Eph 5:3-5; Col 3:5-9; 1 Tim 1:9-10; cf. I Thess 4:3.

⁴¹ I Cor 5:1; 6:9, 11, 13; Rom 1:26-27; cf. 1:24: 'dishonor their bodies.'

an act of adultery,⁴² Paul's rebuke would presumably include that situation.⁴³ Paul regards such sexual sins as particularly abhorrent for Christians not only because they involve a sin against one's 'own body' but also because the resulting 'one body' created by the couple in such cases clashes impossibly with the 'one spirit,' that is, the corporate body existing via the Holy Spirit between the believer's body and Christ.⁴⁴ Thus, according to the apostle's teaching there are certain conditions, writes Helmut Thielicke, 'with which the Holy Spirit cannot . . . coexist under the same roof in the same ego. . . . The first is fornication (πορνεία).'⁴⁵

Paul's treatment of the Lord's Supper reflects a similar realism. The broken bread represents a participation (κοινωνία) in the body of Christ: 'Because there is one bread, we many are one body, for we all partake (μετέχομεν) from the one bread' (I Cor 10:16–17).⁴⁶ Since believers have already become 'one body' in Christ by baptism in the Spirit (12:27), the Supper rite (like water baptism) is a visual manifestation and proclamation of an existing reality and not the creation of a new or different one. When 'my body for you' (11:24–26) is understood in the light of 10:16–17, the rite identifies the body of Christ with the corporate Christ, inclusive of the congregation. Herein lies the seriousness of the Corinthians' sin: They do not 'discern the body' (11:29), that is, the body of Christ present in their fellow believers. By mistreating them, they mistreat Christ. By so doing while at the same time hypocritically affirming in the assembly by act and words their identification with Christ's body, they 'eat and drink judgment' upon themselves (11:29–30). The body of Christ here is not a metaphor (Willis) nor a participation in Christ

⁴² Mt 19:3–9; I Cor 7:10–11; cf. Rom 7:1–3.

⁴³ Although he does not address it. A Christian spouse abandoned by a non-Christian partner 'is not bound' (I Cor 7:15). Whether that means freedom only from the marriage obligations or, less likely, freedom to remarry is not entirely clear. Cf. G. D. Fee, *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Grand Rapids 1987, 302–306.

⁴⁴ 'One spirit' (I Cor 6:17) may mean either 'spiritual body' (Conzelmann) or, more likely, the corporate body created by the Holy Spirit. The bodily character of the 'one spirit' corporeity is made explicit at I Cor 6:19: 'Your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit.' Cf. Conzelmann (note 2), 180.

⁴⁵ H. Thielicke, *Theological Ethics*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1969, I, 87. *Porneia* may mean illicit sexual intercourse between an unmarried male and female (I Cor 7:2) or, more generally, any immoral sexual relationship.

⁴⁶ Against interpreting the elements of the Lord's Supper as the body of Christ cf. Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle*, London 1930, 21–22, 269–270; W. L. Willis, *Idol Meat in Corinth*, Chico CA 1985, 201–202.

mediated by the bread and wine (Käsemann) but, both realistically and following Old Testament conceptions, it is Christ himself expressed corporately in his people (cf. Shedd).⁴⁷ This conception was present in the earthly Jesus' teachings⁴⁸ and was probably deeply impressed upon Paul at his conversion.⁴⁹ It is important also for the apostle's doctrines of ministry⁵⁰ and of the resurrection.

According to I Cor 15:12 certain Corinthians say that 'there is no resurrection of the dead' (15:12), apparently recognizing that resurrection is a physical, that is, bodily event.⁵¹ At the same time they accept, illogically from Paul's perspective, a practice of vicarious baptism on behalf of believers who have died.⁵² That is, these Corinthians who anticipate a life beyond death apart from resurrection are apparently the precursors of those known to Justin Martyr who, following a Platonic dualism, 'say there is no resurrection of the dead but that, when they die, their souls (ψυχάς) are taken up into heaven.'⁵³

Paul, on the other hand, regards bodily resurrection of the dead as the *sine qua non* for a future-life since without it Christ himself has not been raised (15:13, 16) and 'those who have fallen asleep in Christ have ceased to exist' (ἀπώλοντο, 15:18). With these words Paul displays a corporate view of humanity in which the fate of the leader and of those who belong to him are one (15:22), and he rejects the notion that individual existence can be anything other than physical, bodily existence. Similarly, in another context, he equates the resurrection of the dead with the calling of nonbeing into being.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ Cf. Willis (note 46), 204–209; E. Käsemann, *Essays on New Testament Themes*, London 1964, 113–114, 126–127 (using, anachronistically, later Gnostic conceptions); R. P. Shedd, *Man in Community*, London 1958, 189–194. See note 35.

⁴⁸ Mt 10:40; 18:5; 25:40; Lk 10:16; Jn 13:20.

⁴⁹ Acts 9:4: 'Why are you persecuting me?'

⁵⁰ On this issue cf. my *Pauline Theology* (note 38), 7–14, 40–47.

⁵¹ Whether I Cor 15:35 (τις) reflects a question of these Corinthians or, more likely, a well-known objection here used as a rhetorical device to introduce Paul's teaching on the nature of the resurrection. Cf. James 2:18; H. Conzelmann, *I Corinthians*, Philadelphia 1975, 280.

⁵² This interpretation is as early as Tertullian, *Resurrection of the Flesh*, 48,11–12; idem, *Against Marcion*, 5,10,2. However, the patristic contrast of 'the dead' = 'the bodies' (I Cor 15:35) that were baptized with 'the souls' that were otherwise sanctified presupposes a dualism not present in Paul.

⁵³ Justin Martyr, *Dialogue* 80,4. On the later accommodation of such views to those of Paul's opponents cf. Ellis (note 22), 77, 90–93, 103–108, 122n.

⁵⁴ Rom 4:17; cf. Ernst Käsemann, *Romans*, Grand Rapids 1980, 123: '[Justification] is an anticipation of the resurrection of the dead, which as no other event deserves to be called a creation out of nothing and presents the eschatological repetition of the first creation.'

When he contrasts the 'soulsh body' of Adam with the 'spiritual body' of the resurrected Christ, he is not speaking of the substance of the respective bodies but of the powers that characterize and enliven them, the mortal animation of the present creation and the immortal and immediate Holy Spirit animation of the resurrection creation.⁵⁵ Paul portrays the relationship between this age and the age to come as one of both continuity and discontinuity, a discontinuity as sharp as 'a new creation' and a continuity so firm that the individual body raised at the last day of this age is the same (although transformed) body that is buried.⁵⁶

How then does Paul, with his monistic anthropology and his doctrine of bodily, that is, physical resurrection, perceive the state of 'the dead in Christ'?

In speaking of the future life he focuses upon the parousia of Christ⁵⁷ and does not address 'the intermediate state' as a theme, but from his views about salvation in history⁵⁸ and about the corporate nature of man in Christ certain conclusions may be drawn. First, in Paul's teaching the believer died, rose and went to heaven in AD 33 'in Christ' and now sits in heaven 'with him'.⁵⁹ One's corporate inclusion in Christ and, thus, one's corporate life continue after the ending of one's individual life.⁶⁰ 'Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's, for to this end Christ died and rose to life in order that he might be Lord of both the dead and the living' (Rom 14:8-9), and 'whether we are awake or asleep [in death] we may begin simultaneously to live with him' (I Thess 5:10) at the parousia.⁶¹ Thus, while death is not an individual fulfilment of salvation, during death one remains under Christ's Lordship and in his care.

⁵⁵ Rightly, A. T. Nikolainen, *Der Auferstehungsglauben in der Bibel und Ihrer Umwelt*, Helsinki 1946, II, 193-194; Gundry (note 7), 164-166. Cf. I Cor 15:44-45; 6:13-14; Phil 3:21: '[Christ] will transform the body of our humiliation to be conformed to the body of His glory.'

⁵⁶ I Cor 15:3-4, 37-38; 37-38; Phil 3:21. Cf. I Cor 6:13-15.

⁵⁷ Rom 8:18-25; I Cor 15; II Cor 5:1-10; Eph 4:30; Phil 3:20-21; Col. 3:4; I Thess 4-5; II Thess 2:1-12; I Tim 6:14-15; II Tim 4:1, 8; Tit 2:13.

⁵⁸ Cf. Oscar Cullmann, *Salvation in History*, London 1967, 267-268.

⁵⁹ Rom 6:4, 10-11; 8:30 ('glorified'); Gal 2:19-20 ('live in God'); Eph 2:5-6 ('sat us with Christ'); Phil 1:23 ('to be with Christ'); Col 3:3 ('hidden with Christ in God').

⁶⁰ Jesus' argument against the Sadducees, where God's continuing covenant with the dead Abraham guarantees his future resurrection (Mt 22:23-33 T + Q), appears to be explained in this way by Lk 20:38b: πάντες γὰρ αὐτῷ ζῶσιν. See above, 97-100, 114f.; cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids 1996, 234-237.

⁶¹ Cf. Best (note 13), 203, 218-219, F. F. Bruce, *1 and 2 Thessalonians*, Waco TX 1982, 113f.

Second, while the Christian dead remain in time,⁶² they do not count time. The hiatus in their individual being between their death and their resurrection at the last day of this age is, in their consciousness, a tick of the clock. For them the great and glorious day of Christ's parousia is only a moment into the future. The 'intermediate state' is something that the living experience with respect to the dead, not something the dead experience with respect to the living or to Christ.

Those with lenses ground in Athens, numerous in Christian tradition,⁶³ see a quite different picture. They posit that a part of the person, the soul, is not subject to a cessation of being (and thus is not an element of the natural world) but that at the death of the body it is 'separated' to bodiless bliss⁶⁴ or, in a variation on the theme, that there is a resurrection at death in which the physical body is exchanged for a spirit body already being formed within.⁶⁵

Although they have many traditional roots and attachments, such theologies have, I think, seriously misunderstood Paul's salvation-in-history eschatology. It is because Paul regards the body as the person and the person as the physical body that he insists on the resurrection of the body, placing it at the parousia of Christ in which personal redemption is coupled to and is a part of the redemption-by-transfiguration of the whole physical cosmos.⁶⁶ The transformed

⁶² Rightly, Oscar Cullmann (*Christ and Time*, London 1952, 231–232) who, however, also falls into a body/soul dualism (238–241).

⁶³ They came to dominance apparently with the synthesis of Christianity and Greek philosophy by Clement and Origen. Cf. Eusebius, *HE* 6,37; A. von Harnack, *History of Dogma*, New York 1961 (1900), II, 377–378; S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, Oxford 1971, 15, 173–181, 229. See above, 127; below, 195.

⁶⁴ Cf. Gundry (note 7), 148–154.

⁶⁵ C. F. D. Moule, 'St. Paul and Dualism,' *NTS* 12 (1965–66), 122; M. J. Harris, *Raised Immortal*, London 1983, 100–107, 126, 129 (criticized by N. L. Geisler, 'The Significance of Christ's Physical Resurrection,' *BS* 146 [1989], 148–170, 152–153; idem, *The Battle for the Resurrection*, Nashville 1989, with a rejoinder by Harris in *From Grave to Glory*, Grand Rapids 1990, 337–446). A resurrection at death stands in contradiction to the patristic interpretations of resurrection and has clear affinities with Valentinian Gnosticism: 'We are enclosed by [the Savior] until . . . our death in this life. We are drawn to heaven by him. . . . This is the spiritual resurrection . . .' (M. L. Peel, *The Epistle to Rheginos*, Philadelphia 1969, 143–149, 165, on 45:32–40). Cf. *Excerpta ex Theodoto* 51:1–2: 'There is a man in man, the soulish in the earthly . . . [which] was to the divine soul as material flesh; . . . the material soul, which is the body of the divine soul.' Like some Gnostics and the philosopher Plato, Harris appears to view redemption ultimately not as a redemption of matter but as a redemption from matter, not as a transformed immortal physicality but as a deliverance from the physical (*Grave*, 143, 192ff., 279f., passim).

⁶⁶ Rom 8:19–23; I Cor 15:22, 51–53; 1 Thess 4:14–17. Cf. II Pet 3:12f.

physical body of the believer will be called forth from the earth by God's almighty creative word, no less than were the transformed physical body of Christ and the originally lifeless body of the Genesis creation.⁶⁷

If the above remarks have caught the apostle's meaning, they may help to show how his doctrine of the body, so abundantly present in First Corinthians, underlies the whole of his theology and is decisive for understanding his sexual ethics and his teachings on the Lord's Supper, on ministry, and on the Christian hope.

⁶⁷ Gen 2:7; 3:19; Job 10:9; Isa 45:9.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING ON HELL

One's understanding of the biblical teaching on the destiny of those outside Christ will probably be governed by the answer given to three antecedent biblical questions. Is man by nature mortal or immortal? Is he both an individual and a corporate being or an individual only? Is death as 'the wages of sin' (Rom 6:23) an extinction of being or is it continuing existence in separation from God? For this topic, as for others, biblical anthropology is an essential presupposition for understanding biblical eschatology.

PATRISTIC WRITERS

Since the early centuries of the church three views on the destiny of the wicked have been advocated,¹ views that may be termed (1) universal salvation, (2) everlasting punishment as a process, i.e. of suffering or torment, and (3) everlasting punishment as an effect, i.e. of extinction or annihilation. In the patristic church Origen (c. AD 185–254) was the primary representative of the first view and Augustine (AD 354–430) of the second. Ignatius (c. AD 35–110), Justin Martyr (c. AD 100–165), Arnobius (†303–330) and Athanasius (c. AD 296–373) are prominent examples of conditional immortality, that is, immortality given only to those in Christ, and of its corollary, a punishment that is everlasting in its effect, i.e. an extinction of being.

In an early writing² Origen expresses the view that all things will ultimately be brought into subjection to God (I Cor 15:25) by being 'restored' (ἀποκατάστασις, cf. Acts 3:21) to perfection with the resultant salvation of every person, i.e. universalism.³ He builds his theory

¹ Cf. E. H. Plumptre, 'Eschatology,' *DCB* II, 189–196. A classification of early Christian writers is given in E. Pétavel, *The Problem of Immortality*, London 1892, 495f.

² Origen, *On First Principles* (= περὶ ἀρχῶν = *de principiis*) 1, 6, 1–4. This work was written during Origen's Alexandrian period, i.e. before AD 231. Cf. J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols., Westminster MD ²1983, II, 57; S. R. Harmon, 'APOKATASTASIS and Exegesis,' Ph.D. Diss. SWBTS, Fort Worth TX 1997.

³ For a critique cf. Pétavel (note 1), 277–312. A view similar to Origen's may

not only on the principles of 'the free will of man and the goodness of God' (Kelly) but also on the views of the Greek philosophical schools,⁴ including the assumption of a Platonic body/soul dualism in which the soul is either immortal or destined for immortality with God.⁵

Augustine, appealing largely to Mt 25:41–46 and opposing Origen's interpretation, argues that the destiny of the wicked is an everlasting process of suffering of both body and soul.⁶ He bases his argument on an initial assumption, following the Platonists, that the human soul is immortal by nature. As a previous adherent of Manichaeism and then of Platonism, he regarded neo-Platonism as the philosophy closest to Christianity.⁷ With his great influence the Augustinian view became dominant throughout the Western church.

be reflected in K. Barth, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5*, New York 1957; critiqued by R. Bultmann, 'Adam and Christ according to Romans 5,' *Current Issues in New Testament Interpretation*. FS O. Piper, edd. W. Klassen and G. F. Snyder, New York 1962, 143–165. For a contemporary advocate of universal salvation cf. J. Moltmann, 'The End of Everything is God. Has Belief in Hell had its Day?' *ET* 108 (1996–97), 263f.; idem, *The Coming of God*, London 1996, 235–255: '... Christ's death on the cross [is] the foundation for universal salvation' (254). But where is that in the Scriptures? From a biblical perspective any view of universal salvation founders (1) on the many judgment texts that exclude such an interpretation (e.g. Isa 66:22ff.; Dan 12:2; Mt 12:31f.; 25:46; II Thess 1:6–9), (2) on the facts that the term 'all' may mean, e.g. 'all kinds' (cf. Rom 11:32) and not necessarily 'every individual,' and (3) that 'to reconcile' (ἀποκαταλλάξαι, ἰλάσκεσθαι) an enemy, i.e. to remove the enmity, is accomplished for believers by the death of Christ (Col 1:20) and for unbelievers by their own death. Cf. H. Bavinck, *Our Reasonable Faith*, Grand Rapids 1978, 358f.; G. C. Berkouwer, *The Work of Christ*, Grand Rapids 1965, 256–260; L. Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, London 1955, 125–133; J. R. W. Stott, *The Cross of Christ*, Leicester UK 1986, 197–202.

⁴ Cf. H. Chadwick, *Origen: Contra Celsum*, Cambridge 1980, x–xiii; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, 7 vols. in 4, New York 1961 (1894), II, 377ff.

⁵ Origen, *Contra Celsum* 7, 32. Cf. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*, London 1960, 469–474, 473f. Athenagoras (*de res.* 13, 1) appears to be the first Christian writer to describe man as made up of an 'immortal soul' (ἐκ ψυχῆς ἀθανάτου) and a body. Cf. L. W. Bernard, *Athenagoras*, Paris 1972, 124f.: Before he was converted, Athenagoras had been a philosopher supporting Middle Platonism (37–51); idem, *Studies in Church History and Patristics*, Thessalonike 1978, 261ff. Cf. also *Epistle to Diognetus* 6:7f. (? c. AD 200).

⁶ Augustine, *City of God* 21, 1, 1–21, 27, end. Augustine simply asserts that the soul was created immortal (6, 12, middle). However, he had predecessors, e.g. Tertullian (*de anima* 4; 22), who disagrees with Plato's view that the soul is pre-existent but nonetheless accepts this Greek philosopher's conception of its immortality and 'the substance which [man] derived from God himself' (*ab ipso deo traxit*, *Adv. Marcion.* 2, 5, middle) with the consequence, apparently, that the wicked will suffer forever (cf. Tertullian, *de spectaculis* 30). Cf. Pétavel (note 1), 250f.

⁷ Augustine, *City of God*, 8, 5, beginning. Cf. R. A. Markus, 'Augustine,' *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy*, ed. A. H. Armstrong, Cambridge 1970, 342–346, 359ff.; E. de Pressensé, 'Augustinus,' *DCB* 1 (1877), 217.

The view designated conditional immortality with its corollary, the annihilation of the wicked, is represented by a number of patristic writers.⁸ Since this fact is perhaps less well known, a few quotations may be useful. Ignatius, who regarded union with Christ as 'the medicine of immortality' (φάρμακον ἀθανασίας),⁹ writes that 'if [God] were to imitate us according to how we act, we would no longer exist' (μυήσεται καθὰ πράσσομεν, οὐκέτι ἐσμέν).¹⁰ He implies that God's judgment would mean the destruction of our being. Justin Martyr is more explicit:

... A destruction (κατάλυσιν) of the whole cosmos, in order that (ἵνα) evil angels, demons and men may no longer exist (μηκέτι ᾔσιν), God delays to make because of the seed of the Christians.

II Apology 7:1

Those who appear worthy of God never die. But others are punished (αἱ κολάζονται) as long as God wills them to exist and to be punished. Whatever things are or ever shall be, besides God, these things have

⁸ Especially the earlier writers. Cf. further E. W. Fudge, *The Fire that Consumes*, Carlisle UK 1994, 313–342; Pétavel (note 1), 229–245; H. Constable, *The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment*, Boston c. 1890, 237–326, 325; E. White, *Life in Christ*, London 1878, 416–425. Pace W. V. Crockett, 'The Metaphorical View,' *Four Views on Hell*, ed. W. V. Crockett, Grand Rapids MI 1992, 65f., patristic writers cannot be said to favor the Augustinian view of everlasting torment because they use biblical phrases like 'everlasting punishment' (II Clem 6:7; Martyr. Polycarp 11:2; cf. Mt 25:46), 'everlasting fire' and 'fire that is never quenched' (Martyr. Polycarp 11:2; 2:3; cf. Jude 7; Mk 9:47f. = Isa 66:24). After all, it is precisely the meaning of these phrases that is the question at issue.

⁹ Ignatius, *ad Eph.* 20, 2: 'Assemble yourselves in one faith and one (ἐνί) Jesus Christ... breaking one bread, which (ὅ) is the medicine of immortality, the antidote that we should not die but live forever (διὰ παντός) in Jesus Christ.' Cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 3 vols. in 5, London 1885, II, i, 87: 'The ὅ may refer to the whole preceding clause... or to the ἄπτος alone... [but] the latter is more probable...' If so, it is no more sacramentalist than Jn 6:51–58; Mt 26:26 parr. It is not the eucharistic element but the corporate union with Jesus, which the element symbolizes, that assures immortality. Cf. W. R. Schoedel, *Ignatius of Antioch*, Philadelphia 1985, 97ff.; A. D. Nock, 'Liturgical Notes,' *JTS* 30 (1929), 391ff.; P. N. Anderson, *The Christology of the Fourth Gospel*, Valley Forge PA 1997, 119–127: 'When the phrases, "medicine of immortality" and "the antidote which wards off death" [in Ignatius, *ad Eph* 20, 2], are considered in their context, it is clear that the central issue is one of corporate unity and solidarity...' '[The] "medicine of immortality" refers not to the breaking of a loaf but the breaking of one loaf (cf. the clear connection to I Cor 11:16 [10:16]...) (120). I Clem 35:1f. similarly describes 'life in immortality' (ζωὴ ἐν ἀθανασίᾳ) as a gift of God to believers.

¹⁰ Ignatius, *ad Mag.* 10:1. The apodosis clause in a condition contrary to fact is only occasionally in the present tense (cf. Mk 9:42) and often drops the ἂν. Cf. F. Blass, A. Debrunner, R. W. Funk, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, Chicago 1957, 523; A. T. Robertson, *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research*, London 1914, 1014.

a perishable nature (φύσιν φθαρτήν). . . . For this reason souls (ψυχαί) both are punished and die.

Dialogue with Trypho 5:3ff.¹¹

Irenaeus is equally explicit on man's mortality and his attainment of immortality only in Christ:

And [God] laid down for [Adam] certain conditions: so that, if he kept the command of God, then he would always remain as he was, that is, immortal; but if he did not, he would become mortal, melting into the earth, whence his frame had been taken.

Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching 15¹²

How can he be immortal, who in his mortal nature did not obey his Maker?

Against Heresies 4, 39, 2¹³

[Souls and spirits] had a beginning . . . and endure as long as God wills that they should have an existence and continuance. . . . [God] imparts continuance forever and ever (*in saeculum saeculi*) on those who are saved.

Against Heresies 2, 34, 3

'[But] they shall wish that they had been burned with fire' (cf. Isa 9:5) [is said of] those who believe not on Him. . . . [For] those who after Christ's appearing believed not on Him, there is a vengeance without pardon in the judgment.

Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching 56

Theophilus of Antioch (c. AD 190), speaks similarly:

Man was neither mortal nor immortal by nature . . . but was able to receive both (δεκτικὸν ἀμφοτέρων). If he [kept] . . . the command of God, he would receive immortality as a reward from Him and would

¹¹ In *Dialogue* 5:1 those who regard the soul as immortal are called Platonists. Justin, *Dial.* 80:4, identifies as heretics 'those who say there is no resurrection of the dead but that when they die, their souls are taken up into heaven.' Justin's pupil, Tatian (*Address to the Greeks* 13:1), also argues that the soul is mortal. Cf. J. Pelikan, *The Shape of Death*, Nashville 1961, 11–29. The phrase, ἐν αἰσθήσει αἰώνιῳ ('with everlasting sensation,' *I Apol.* 52:3), contradicts Justin's view elsewhere and is very probably a later gloss.

¹² Translation of Pelikan (note 11), 104. Cf. L. M. Froidevaux, ed., *Irénée de Lyon, Démonstration de la Prédication apostolique* (SC 62), Paris 1971, 54; J. A. Robinson, *St. Irenaeus, The Demonstration of the Apostolic Preaching*, London 1920, 83. Cf. Gen 3:19. But see Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 2, 34, 2: 'Nevertheless [souls] endure and extend their existence into a length of ages (*in longitudinem saecularum*) in accordance with the will of God their creator.'

¹³ Cf. also Irenaeus, *AH* 3, 20, 2. Otherwise: G. Wingren, *Man and the Incarnation. A Study in the Biblical Theology of Irenaeus*, Philadelphia 1959, 204–207, who is quite misleading on this question.

become [like] God, but if he . . . [disobeyed] God, he would be responsible for his own death. . . . Everyone who performs [God's commands] can be saved and, attaining to the resurrection, can "inherit imperishability" (ἀφθαρσίαν).

ad Autolycum 2, 27, middle-end¹⁴

At the end of the third or the beginning of the fourth century, Arnobius, one of the last early apologists, presents a view of conditional immortality similar to these second-century writers. He observes rightly that God has no obligation or necessity to save anyone¹⁵ and writes:

[The death] that is seen by the eyes is only a separation of soul from body, not the last end – annihilation: this I say is man's real death, when souls which know not God shall be consumed in a long protracted torment with raging fire. . . .

Against the Pagans 2, 14, end

The souls of men are of a neutral character, . . . subject to the law of death, and are of little strength and that perishable. They are gifted with immortality if they rest their hope . . . on God Supreme who alone has power to grant such [blessings].

Against the Pagans 2, 53, middle

Arnobius has been criticized as 'an immature Christian;' unjustifiably since we have no knowledge of his thought apart from his treatise against the pagans. In any case he is only one among a number of mostly earlier Christian writers who espoused conditional immortality, that is, immortality only for the righteous in Christ. Athanasius' essay *On the Incarnation of the Word*¹⁶ sounds remarkably like these earlier writers:¹⁷

¹⁴ Cf. R. M. Grant, ed., *Theophilus of Antioch, Ad Autolycum*, Oxford 1970, 69ff. Cf. Mt 19:17, 25; Phil 3:11; Heb 11:35; I Cor 15:50, 53.

¹⁵ Arnobius, *Against the Pagans* 2, 64, end. Cf. W. H. C. Frend, 'Arnobius,' *OCD*, 122, who thinks that Arnobius 'shows little trace of Christian theology' (but see H. Brice and H. Campbell, 'Arnobius,' *ANF* VI, 409f.); H. C. G. Moule, 'Arnobius,' *DCB* I (1877), 167ff. However, Arnobius shows a knowledge of the apostolic writings, defends them, perhaps the Gospels, against pagan criticism (1, 54–58), cites at least one text *verbatim* (2, 6, end; I Cor 3:19) and alludes to other biblical passages. But he makes little use of Scripture for his argument, probably because his 'vast range of learning' (Brice, 408) is focused on a scathing critique of paganism in terms of its own views and practices.

¹⁶ The translations are dependent in part on those of R. W. Thomson, ed., *Athanasius, Contra Gentes and De Incarnatione*, Oxford 1971, 142–185, 184f., 274–277; A Religious of the Community of St. Mary the Virgin [Penelope Lawson], *St. Athanasius, On the Incarnation*, London 1953, 29f., 96. Cf. also C. Kannengiesser, ed., *Athanasie D'Alexandrie. Sur l'incarnation du Verbe* (*SC* 199), Paris 1973, 276–279, 340f., 468f.

¹⁷ Some regard him as inconsistent on this issue since Athanasius, *Against the*

For the transgression of the commandment was making [men] turn back again according to their nature. And as they had at the beginning come into being out of non-existence, so were they now on the way to returning, through corruption, to non-existence (εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι) again. If having then a nature not to exist (τὸ μὴ εἶναι), they were called into existence by the presence (παρουσία) and mercy of the Word, it followed that . . . because they turned to [evil] things that have no being (εἰς τὰ οὐκ ὄντα), they also were deprived of everlasting existence (τοῦ εἶναι αἰεί). . . . For indeed man is by nature mortal in that he was created from nothing.

de incar. 4, 20–26

[As Christians] according to the mortality of the body we are dissolved (διαλυόμεθα) only for the time that God has ordained for each in order that we may be able ‘to obtain a better resurrection’ [Heb 11:35].

de incar. 21, 5ff.

Athanasius concludes his treatise with a reference to Christ’s second coming when he will bestow on believers ‘resurrection and incorruptibility’ (τὴν ἀνάστασιν καὶ τὴν ἀφθαρσίαν) and will assign those who have done evil to ‘everlasting fire and outer darkness’ (πῦρ αἰώνιον καὶ σκότος ἑξώτερον; 56, 14–18). In the light of his earlier comments that man apart from Christ is on his way back to non-existence, he appears to view the divine fire of judgment as accomplishing and climaxing that effect:

Thus joined to [the saints] in the fellowship of life (τῇ ἀγωγῇ τῆς συζήσεως), one may escape the danger that threatens sinners and the fire [that comes] on them at the day of judgment. . . .

de incar. 57, 16f.

Both Arnobius and Athanasius build their arguments more on philosophical than on biblical foundations. Although they presuppose from their Greek philosophical background a body/soul dualism, they do not infer from that the ‘soul’s’ immortality but only that its life extends in some way beyond that of the body.

Pagans, 32–33, speaks of the soul as ‘immortal’ (ἀθάνατος). But, like Irenaeus, he may mean no more than that the soul does not die with the body. See above, note 12. Otherwise: A Roberts, ed., ‘St. Athanasius: Select Works and Letters,’ *NPNF* IV, 32ff.

INTERTESTAMENTAL EVIDENCE

Among the intertestamental writings of Judaism are the Qumran texts, the Old Testament Apocrypha and some pseudepigraphal apocalyptic writings; the last are less easy to date and are largely post-first century in origin or include post-first century Christian interpolations.¹⁸ Like the patristic literature and the Apocryphal New Testament, these documents also reflect one or another of the two viewpoints, i.e. everlasting suffering¹⁹ and annihilation.²⁰ Also like the patristic writers, they exhibit in part a body/soul dualism rooted in Platonic philosophy.²¹ The Qumran texts, like the Sadducees²² and

¹⁸ The only Jewish apocalyptic pseudepigrapha that can be dated with confidence before the first century AD are parts of I Enoch. Fragments of 11 manuscripts of I Enoch appear at Qumran from the first (1–36), third (72–82), fourth (83–90) and fifth (91–108) sections of the Ethiopic text. There are no fragments from the second section, the Book of Parables (I En 37–71). Cf. J. T. Milik, ed., *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumran Cave 4*, Oxford 1976, 5ff., passim; M. A. Knibb, *The Ethiopic Book of Enoch*, 2 vols., Oxford 1978, II, 6–15; generally, M. de Jonge, 'The so-called Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament and Early Christianity,' *The New Testament and Hellenistic Judaism*, edd. P. Borgen et al., Peabody MA 1997, 59–71. See below, note 40; above, Chapter VI, note 55, p. 79.

¹⁹ Judith (16:17), alone among the Old Testament Apocrypha, may express this view, i.e. that 'in the day of judgment' God will take vengeance on Gentiles who attack his people, 'giving fire and worms to their flesh and they shall cry in consciousness forever' (ἐν αἰσθήσει ἕως αἰῶνος). Cf. also IV Macc 12:12; perhaps 9:9. See below, note 39.

²⁰ E.g. I Enoch 98:10: 'You are ready for the day of destruction. And do not hope that you will live . . . ; rather you will go and die, . . .' (Knibb); cf. 90:25ff.; 97:1. Also 4Q418 69:7f.: 'Those who seek the truth will rise for the judgment. . . All the crazy at heart will be annihilated, and the sons of iniquity will be found no more' (Martinez; see above, 47n).

²¹ In first-century Judaism Philo and the Pharisees believed that 'the soul' was immortal. Cf. Philo, *opificio mundi* 135: Man 'was created at once mortal and immortal, mortal with respect to his body and immortal with respect to his mind'; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 14; idem, *War* 2, 162f.: 'The Pharisees [say] . . . every soul is imperishable' (ἄφθαρτον) . . . 'and those of the wicked are punished with an everlasting vengeance' (αἰδίῳ τιμωρίᾳ); R. Meyer, 'φαρисαῖος,' *TDNT* 9 (1974), 21; idem, *Hellenistisches in der rabbinischen Anthropologie*, Stuttgart 1937. Cf. R. Hammer, ed., *Sifre*, New Haven CT 1986, 307: ' . . . man, whose soul is from heaven and whose body is from the earth' (Sifre 306 on Dt 32:2).

²² Cf. Acts 23:8; Josephus, *War* 2, 8, 11–14; *Ant.* 18, 16; (H. L. Strack and P. Billerbeck, *Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch*, 4 vols., München 1922–28, I, 885f. (on Mt 22:23); E. Schürer, *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, 3 vols. in 4, Edinburgh ²1973–87, II, 391f.; II, 411. The Sadducees were under Hellenistic influences and on this question were more Epicurean than Old Testament. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10, 277f. with 13, 173 and idem, *War* 2, 164f.; Mishnah, Sanhedrin 10:1; R. Meyer, 'Σαδδουκαῖος,' *TDNT* 7 (1971), 46f.

the Old Testament,²³ speak of the whole man as mortal²⁴ and as perishing at death, and, like the Old Testament, they also affirm his resurrection at the last Day.²⁵ In this respect they are closer to biblical perspectives, both Old Testament²⁶ and New Testament.²⁷ But neither the Qumran writings nor the Old Testament Apocrypha nor the largely post-first century Jewish apocalyptic²⁸ and rabbinic writings are of central importance; they are neither appealed to nor (with one exception) cited by the New Testament. And it is, I think, a fundamental error in method to interpret the New Testament primarily from Jewish apocrypha and pseudepigrapha or (as the History of Religions school did) from the views of the surrounding paganism, even from pagan views that had infiltrated sectors of Judaism.

More important than views of the different Jewish parties is the teaching of canonical Scripture which, rightly understood, is for biblical Christianity the infallible revelation of God from which all Christian doctrine must be vetted. The issue for evangelicals, then, is one of biblical interpretation, and to that question we may now turn.

OLD TESTAMENT WITNESS

The primary background for understanding the New Testament's teaching on the punishment of the wicked is the background to which it appeals. That is the Old Testament Scriptures which were received as canonical authority by first-century Judaism²⁹ and which, with the

²³ Eg. Ps 6:5; 115:17; see below, note 30.

²⁴ Cf. 1QS11:20–22; 1QH 3:24; 10:3; 12:25–31 = 1QH 11:24; 18:3; 20:25–31 (Martinez); D. Flusser, 'The Dead Sea Sect and Pre-Pauline Christianity,' *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin, Jerusalem 1958, 262, cf. 254, 257; M. Mansoor, *The Thanksgiving Hymns*, Leiden 1961, 84–89.

²⁵ 4Q418 69:7f. ('Sapiential Work A'); 4Q521 12 ('Messianic Apocalypse'); 1QH 3(11):19–22; 6(14):29f., 34; cf. 4(12):21f.; 11(19):12; 18:25–29(21:10–14); J. H. Charlesworth, *Toward a Taxonomy of Resurrection Texts (1QH, 4Q521, Luke, and the Fourth Gospel)*, N. Richland Hills TX, forthcoming; E. Puech, 'Messianism, Resurrection, and Eschatology at Qumran and in the New Testament,' *The Community of the Renewed Covenant*, edd. E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam, Notre Dame IN 1994, 235–256, 246–253; M. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, London 1961, 142, 190f. See above, Chapter VIII, 100–103. Otherwise: H. Ringgren, *The Faith of Qumran*, New York ²1995 (1963), 148–151.

²⁶ See below, notes 33–37, 42, 44–51.

²⁷ See below, notes 82, 83. For the rabbinical writings see below, note 39.

²⁸ Pace K. S. Harmon, 'The Case against Conditionalism,' *Universalism and the Doctrine of Hell*, ed. M. de S. Cameron, Carlisle UK 1992, 193–224.

²⁹ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991, 36–50;

possible exception of Esther, were identical with the Old Testament canon received by Protestants and Jews today.

The Old Testament displays distinct conceptions of death as the punishment for sin.³⁰ It depicts the death state and sphere, i.e. שְׁאוֹל (Sheol = ᾠδης, Hades), as a kind of mass grave, six feet under, over which God has power to deliver by resurrection but with which he has no relationship.³¹ Despite some metaphorical and symbolic scenes of conversation among the maggots,³² the Scripture represents the departure into Sheol as the end of individual being, a returning to the common earth³³ and 'virtual annihilation'.³⁴ While one may continue to 'live' in one's name or progeny,³⁵ viewed as a corporate extension of one's own soul,³⁶ there is no longer any personal life or being. The 'spirit [that] returns to God who gave it' (Eccl 12:7) is not, as Platonists read it, a part of the individual's personality, much less his essential ego, but rather the 'spirit of life' (Gen 7:22; cf. 2:7) that God grants and, at death, takes back (e.g. Job 34:14f.). Man's end is 'like water spilt on the ground which cannot be gathered up again' (II Sam 14:14). Death levels him with all other dying life: man and beast, righteous and wicked, wise and foolish.³⁷ Sheol is then both the natural end of all mortal creatures and also God's judgment on the disobedient Adamic race.

Anthropologically, the Old Testament views the human 'personality [as] . . . an animated body, not (like the Greek) . . . [as] an incarnated soul'.³⁸ It knows no body/soul dualism and has no Platonic

R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church*, London 1985, 274–323; S. Z. Leiman, *The Canonization of Hebrew Scriptures*, Hamden CT 1976, 131f., 135.

³⁰ E.g. Gen 2:17; 3:17ff.; Ezek 18:4.

³¹ E.g. Job 7:9; Ps 6:5; 30:9. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Life,' *NBD*, 697–701, 698; N. J. Tromp, *Primitive Conceptions of Death and the Nether World in the Old Testament*, Rome 1969, 129–140; J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 4 vols. in 2, Copenhagen 1959 (1926), I, 460–470.

³² Ezek 31–32; Isa 14:4–11; cf. Lk 16:19–31.

³³ Gen 3:19; 25:8; 37:35; Dt 31:16; Job 3:13ff.; 10:9; 17:13–16; Ps 6:5; 49:12; 144:4; 146:4; Eccl 2:14; 3:19ff.; 9:10; 12:7.

³⁴ A. R. Johnson, *The Vitality of the Individual in the Thought of Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1949, 93. Cf. Ellis (note 31), 697f.

³⁵ Ps 72:17; Isa 66:22.

³⁶ Cf. Pedersen (note 31), I, 254ff.

³⁷ Eccl 3:19ff.

³⁸ H. W. Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, Edinburgh 1947 (1926), 27; idem, 'Hebrew Psychology,' *The People and the Book*, ed. A. S. Peake, Oxford 1925, 353–382, 362.

conception of an immortal soul with an after-death experience different from the body. Under the influence of Greek mythology and philosophy, this changes later in the thought of some Pharisaic rabbinic tradition,³⁹ of Jewish⁴⁰ and Christian apocalyptic pseudepigrapha⁴¹ and of some patristic literature. Here the real immaterial personality, the soul, continues after the physical body dissolves into dust. The Old Testament, however, views man as a unity and pictures the whole person as going into the grave.⁴²

What then is the hope of the godly and the special judgment of the wicked? The Old Testament hope is the resurrection of the whole person from Sheol. Contrary to a widespread scholarly tradition,⁴³

³⁹ Cf. Meyer, *Hellenistisches* (note 21), 25–32, 44–69; the texts cited in Billerbeck (note 22), II, 222–234 (on Lk 16:19–31); IV, 1016–1165. All in all, the rabbinic literature affirms an extended judgment of the unrighteous in Gehenna, followed by their annihilation. Cf. e.g. Mishnah, Eduyoth 2:10; Tosefta, Sanhedrin 13:4: ‘The Israelites . . . and Gentiles who sinned go down to Gehenna and are judged there. . . . And, after twelve months their souls perish, their bodies are burned, Gehenna absorbs them, and they are turned into dust under the feet of the righteous, as it is written . . . Mal 4:3.’ Cf. F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud und verwandter Schriften*, Hildesheim 1975 (21897), 390–398: ‘Therefore, by God’s judgment, the nations (*Völkerwelt*) will be delivered to annihilation through the fire of Gehenna. In this way the earth, henceforth in the sole possession of Israel and freed from the ungodly, can be renewed and become the abode of everlasting life’ (398).

⁴⁰ Apart from parts of I Enoch the extant Jewish apocalyptic pseudepigrapha are very probably post-first century. In any case they and early Christian pseudepigrapha contain views of body/soul anthropology and of the after-death state of the wicked that are heavily influenced by pagan Greek philosophical and mythological conceptions. Cf. R. J. Bauckham, ‘Early Jewish Visions of Hell,’ *JTS* 41 (1990), 335–385; M. Himmelfarb, *Tours of Hell*, Philadelphia 1983; A. Dieterich, *Nekyia: Beiträge zur Erklärung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Stuttgart 1969 (21913). See above, note 18.

⁴¹ Everlasting torment of the wicked is reflected in, e.g. the Ascension of Isa 1:3; 10:8ff. (perhaps) and the Ethiopic Apocalypse of ps-Peter 7–10. (Further, cf. Himmelfarb [note 40], 8–40; A. K. Turner, *The History of Hell*, New York 1993, 83–88). One of several ‘Apocalypses’ of pseudo-Peter, it may be dated to the later second century if it is the ‘Apocalypse of Peter’ commented on by Clement of Alexandria (cf. Eusebius, *HE* 6, 14, 1) and mentioned in the Muratorian Canon; but see D. J. Theron, *Evidence of Tradition*, Grand Rapids 1959, 113n (on the Muratorian Canon). On the other hand, the apocryphal Acts of Paul 8, 3, 24–27, and Acts of Peter (*Vercel.*) 17, middle, apparently assign the wicked to annihilation.

⁴² Ps 30:3; 33:19; 88:3; 89:48. See above, note 33. Cf. Ellis (note 31), 697f.; W. Eichrodt, *Theology of the Old Testament*, 2 vols., London 1967, II, 214f.

⁴³ E.g. Schürer (note 22), II, 391f., 411; G. von Rad, *Old Testament Theology*, 2 vols., London 1975, I, 405ff.; II, 350. This tradition appears to rest in part on reading Old Testament texts with philosophical preconceptions of the ego’s survival of death (e.g. von Rad, I, 405ff. on Ps 73:23–28) and, in part, on a 19th century evolutionary pattern applied to Old Testament thought in which ‘resurrection’ was placed late on the scale. Consequently, where ‘resurrection’ was admitted, the texts were dated late; where the texts were dated early, a ‘resurrection’ exegesis of them

a resurrection hope was not a late-appearing conception since it is found in pre-Exodus Egypt (J. H. Breasted; A. H. Sayce)⁴⁴ and may have been appropriated from there and reformulated under inspiration by Israel's prophets.⁴⁵ In Egypt, it underlay the careful embalming practice, the placing of grain in the tomb and even the burial of Pharaoh's ship alongside the pyramid tomb so that in a future resurrection he could use it again to sail the Nile.

In the Psalms, some of which are among the most ancient Old Testament literature, the hope of resurrection is repeatedly expressed, as Michael Dahood, Derek Kidner and others have argued.⁴⁶ The resurrection also, according to Jesus,⁴⁷ underlies God's Exodus declaration that he is the God of dead Abraham, a declaration implicitly affirming that he would resurrect Abraham, since '[God] is not the God of the dead.'⁴⁸ Paul voices the same thought when he teaches that 'if the dead are not raised, . . . those who have fallen asleep in

was rejected. It was the merit of Michael Dahood to show the historical and exegetical fallacy of the pattern. See below, note 46.

⁴⁴ Cf. J. H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times*, New York ²1909; idem, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York ³1959, 55–61, 288ff.; A. H. Sayce, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Edinburgh 1902, 170: '... the doctrine of the resurrection of the body became an integral part of the Osirian faith.'

⁴⁵ It was apparently also present elsewhere in the ancient Near East. Cf. E. B. Smick, 'The Bearing of New Philological Data on the Subjects of the Resurrection and Immortality in the Old Testament,' *WTJ* 31 (1968–69), 12–21, who concludes that 'some notion of resurrection from the dead was a part of [pre-Abrahamic] Sumerian mythology' (21). Otherwise: J. Day, 'Resurrection Imagery from Baal to the Book of Daniel,' *Congress Volume. Cambridge 1995*, ed. J. A. Emerton, Leiden 1997, 125–133.

⁴⁶ D. Kidner, *Psalms*, 2 vols., London 1975, I, 74, 86, 90; II, 263, 466f. Cf. Ps 16:9ff. (Acts 2:26f.); 17:15; 49:12, 14f.; 73:23–27; 139:18; M. Dahood, *Psalms*, 3 vols., Garden City NY 1970, I, 106, passim. From a careful study of the relationship of the biblical Psalms to North West Semitic data (and of their differences from the psalms at Qumran), Dahood concluded not only that the biblical Psalter was pre-Exilic (III, xxxiv–xxxvii) but also that these ancient Psalms contain 'a deep and steady belief in resurrection and immortality' for the righteous (III, xli–lii; cf. I, xxxvi). Although his exegesis can be faulted in some respects, Dahood's method and analysis was sound and appears to mark a permanent advance in the research. Cf. Tromp (note 31), 124 (on Isa 26:19), 184 (on Ps 3:6); Smick (note 45), 12–21. Otherwise: H. J. Kraus, *Psalms*, 2 vols., Minneapolis 1988, II, 91ff., 517, who rejects any expectation of resurrection from Sheol in these Psalms and, following G. von Rad, interprets Ps 73:24 to anticipate an after-death communion with God in 'a completely different realm of life' (I, 93). But this contradicts all Old Testament depictions of death and Sheol and appears to import Platonic conceptions into the text.

⁴⁷ Cf. Lk 20:27–40, 37f. parr.; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids ⁷1996, 234–237. See above, Chapter VIII, 96–104.

⁴⁸ Mt 22:32 parr.

Christ have ceased to exist' (ἀπόλονται, perished, I Cor 15:18) and, in Rom 4:17, where he equates the resurrection of the dead with the calling of nonbeing into being.⁴⁹ In the Old Testament resurrection is implicitly affirmed throughout in God's power to deliver one from Sheol, but it is explicitly expressed as God's purpose in comparatively few passages in Job, Psalms, Isaiah and Daniel.⁵⁰ Equally, a resurrection, i.e. resuscitation of the wicked, raised for punishment, is present explicitly only in Daniel and perhaps Isaiah.⁵¹ For the Old Testament, then, the assurance of future life does not lie in the idea that some part of the individual survives death but in the firm hope that God will raise from death those in covenant relationship with Him.

NEW TESTAMENT TEACHING

The New Testament teaching on the punishment of those outside Christ rests upon and arises from the Old Testament teaching on the nature of man and the nature of death. The Scriptures, both Old and New Testament, represent individual personality as a complex and totally mortal monism, a unity that can be viewed from different perspectives but that cannot be broken into separately existing parts.⁵² The biblical view is compatible with an outer/inner distinction⁵³ or even a matter/thought or matter/will distinction as long as both aspects are recognized as mortal and as a part of the pre-

⁴⁹ Cf. E. Käsemann, *Romans*, Grand Rapids 1980, 123 = GT: 116: '... the resurrection of the dead [in Rom 4:17] ... deserves to be called a creation out of nothing and presents the eschatological repetition of the first creation.'

⁵⁰ E.g. Job 19:26; Ps 16:8–11; 49:14f.; Isa 25:8; 26:19; Ezek 37; Dan 12:2. Cf. J. Baldwin, *Daniel*, Leicester 1978, 204f. Cf. also Jonah 2:1–10 with Mt 12:40.

⁵¹ Dan 12:2; Isa 66:24, expounded and applied by Jesus to his hearers re the unquenchable fire of the final judgment (Mk 9:42–48). It is clearly taught in the New Testament, e.g. Jn 5:28–29; Acts 24:15; II Cor 5:3, 10; Heb 11:35; cf. Phil 3:11 (ἐξανάστασις); Rev 20:5f. See above Chapter VIII, 96n, 102f.

⁵² This may be illustrated by Jesus' interchange with the Scripture scholar at Mk 12:30–33: 'You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart and ... soul and ... mind (διανοίας) and strength' (ἰσχύος); and the scribe replied, 'Well said, teacher, ..., [for] to love Him with one's whole heart and ... understanding (συνέσεως) and ... strength ... is much more than burnt offerings. ...' It is clear that the whole person from the perspective of his inner self is meant and that the variation in terminology is a matter of indifference. See below, note 53.

⁵³ See above, Chapter XIII, 167ff.: 'Like the Old Testament and unlike a Platonic body/soul or body/spirit dualism, both the inward and outward aspects of the person refer to physical being' (168).

sent fallen creation and thus subject to the natural death process. But it is incompatible with an anthropological dualism in which one part, i.e. the soul or spirit, is considered to have immunity from the processes of the present natural order and thus to be exempt from death, i.e. from a cessation of existence. This kind of dualism⁵⁴ has departed from a biblical understanding to a conception rooted in Platonic philosophy, a reading of the New Testament with lenses ground in Athens, resulting in a reconceptualization and redefinition of all the New Testament terms and concepts used for the punishment of the unrighteous. It thereby excludes *a priori* the meaning (in an active sense) of extinction of being, i.e. annihilation, or (in a reflexive or passive sense) of cessation of being.

The New Testament is quite clear about immortality: only God 'has immortality' (ἀθανασία, I Tim 6:16). It states that among mankind only those in Christ will 'put on immortality,' and they will do so individually only at their bodily resurrection at the second coming, i.e. parousia of Christ (e.g. I Cor 15:22f., 52, 53f.). Paul teaches that this transformation effects the conquest and defeat of death, which is the punishment for sin (I Cor 15:54–57; cf. Rom 5:12, 18f.; 6:23). The New Testament similarly applies and restricts other terms, like 'everlasting life' or simply 'life,'⁵⁵ to those in Christ. In this context one may now examine the New Testament terms and concepts used for the ultimate punishment of the wicked.⁵⁶

In the New Testament hell is the translation of two terms, Hades (ᾍδης = Sheol), which with one possible exception continues the Old Testament meaning of 'the grave,'⁵⁷ and Gehenna (γέεννα = גִּהֶנוֹן, *gehinnom*). For purposes of this paper hell ordinarily refers to Gehenna.⁵⁸ It is used by Jesus in his exposition of Isa 66:24

⁵⁴ It is reflected in the philosophically oriented work of J. W. Cooper, *Body, Soul, and Life Everlasting* (Grand Rapids 1989), and it seems to underlie R. H. Gundry's *Sōma in Biblical Theology*, Grand Rapids 1987, esp. 159f. But see A. Köberle, 'Das griechische und das biblische Verständnis von Seele,' *TBeit* 14 (1983), 133–142.

⁵⁵ E.g. Mt 19:29; 25:46; Lk 10:25; Jn 3:15f.; Acts 13:46ff.; Rom 2:7. On 'life' cf. Mt 7:14; Jn 5:29; Acts 11:18; II Cor 5:4; I Pet 3:7.

⁵⁶ The meaning of terms and phrases is not the whole of exegesis, but it is the essential starting point from which any sound exegesis must proceed.

⁵⁷ Mt 11:23 (= Lk 10:15, [Capernaum]); 16:18 (gates of death); Acts 2:27, 31 (Ps 16:10f.); I Cor 15:55 ⁸², ^{Ac} (Hos 13:14); Rev 1:18; 6:8; 20:13f. (death and the grave); Lk 16:23: 'He was buried in Hades' (⁸² lat Mcion). Here the scene is similar to Isa 14:9ff., but it is closer to later Greek apocalyptic/mythological perceptions in the picture of bodily torment. See below, note 78; above, note 32.

⁵⁸ The term occurs 12 times in the New Testament, all but one (Jas 3:6) in the teaching of Jesus. Cf. Mt 5:22, 29f.; 10:28; 18:9; 23:15, 33.

(Mk 9:42–48), an eschatological context that very probably refers to the Day of final judgment. It is depicted in terms of the garbage dump in the valley of Hinnom on the south side of Jerusalem, ‘where their worm does not die and the fire is not quenched’ (Isa 66:24).⁵⁹ Although hell cannot be equated with the analogy, it is represented by it as the ultimate end, an end as outcast, refuse, suffering (for those thrown out there alive) and decay. As hell is used elsewhere by Jesus, it ordinarily has similar connotations of God’s final punishment of the wicked on the last Day of this age. As such it seems to presuppose, e.g. in Mt 23:15, 33, a resurrection, that is, resuscitation of the unrighteous for judgment.

The New Testament uses analogies other than the Jerusalem dump for the punishment of the wicked on the last Day.⁶⁰ John the Baptist and Jesus compare that punishment to a number of non-human objects: burned-up chaff or tree or weeds or branch (Mt 3:12; 7:19; 13:40; Jn 15:6); a destroyed house, bad fish discarded, an uprooted plant, a chopped down tree (Mt 7:27; 13:48; 15:13; Lk 13:7). Jesus also uses human analogies: The unrepentant unbelievers on the Day of judgment, i.e. at the coming of the Son of Man, will be like those drowned in the Flood and those burned up at Sodom and Lot’s wife reduced to salt (Lk 17:27, 29, 32). They will be like wicked tenants destroyed, the rejector ground to powder, the evil servant cut to pieces (Mt 21:41, 44; 24:51); like the Galileans killed by Pilate, those killed by a falling tower, rebels slain (Lk 13:2, 4; 19:14, 27). On these analogies the punishment of the wicked will be a life-destroying act with a permanent and unrecalable effect.

The destiny of the wicked is also compared by Jesus to a process of punishment: a debtor held in prison, those thrown out of the house into darkness and weeping (Mt 8:12; 22:13; 25:30). But it is not said that the process is without end.

Nouns, other than hell, that describe the destiny of unbelievers also may involve a process such as an undefined vengeance (ἐκδίκησις),⁶¹ or punishment (κόλασις, τιμωρία),⁶² or divine wrath (ὀργή).⁶³ Perhaps

⁵⁹ Cf. II Kg 23:10. For rabbinic and Jewish apocalyptic pseudepigraphic views cf. Billerbeck (note 22), IV, 1029–1118; Bauckham (note 40), 382–385.

⁶⁰ See below, Appendix to this chapter, 197ff.

⁶¹ Lk 18:7f.; II Thess 1:8; Heb 10:30f.

⁶² Mt 25:46; Heb 10:9.

⁶³ Mt 3:7; Jn 3:36; Rom 1:18; 2:5, 8; 3:5; 5:9; 9:22; Eph 2:3; 5:6; Col 3:6; I Thess 1:10 (2:16); 5:9; Rev 6:17; 11:18; 16:19; 19:15.

'fire' might be included here, but the purpose and effect of fire is either to purge and refine or, in this context, to utterly destroy although pain may accompany the disintegration.⁶⁴

Other nouns for the judgment of the unrighteous connote obliteration. They include annihilation (ἀπόλεια),⁶⁵ destruction (ὄλεθρος),⁶⁶ death (θάνατος),⁶⁷ end (τέλος),⁶⁸ disintegration (φθόρα).⁶⁹ Verbs used in this context can also have a connotation either of process⁷⁰ or of end of being.⁷¹ Of course, for all of these terms one can find an instance where the meaning, annihilation, does not apply. Augustinians, with their presupposition that the individual's essential being cannot cease to exist, present such an instance and suppose that it can be applied to the biblical contexts. But if asked what Greek or Hebrew term would denote or connote annihilation, they offer none, at least none that appear in Scripture. They have decided the question by their presupposition and will be persuaded by no linguistic nor exegetical argument.

New Testament texts on the destiny or punishment of the wicked often have an accompanying adjective, everlasting or age-lasting (αἰώνιος).⁷² For the wicked Scripture speaks of an everlasting sin (ἀμαρτημα, Mk 3:29), everlasting punishment (κόλασις, Mt 25:46), everlasting judgment (κρίμα, κρίσις, Heb 6:8; Mk 3:25 A), everlasting fire (πῦρ, Mt 18:8; 25:41; Jude 7), and everlasting destruction

⁶⁴ Mt 5:22; 13:42, 50; 25:41; Mk 9:47f.; Lk 17:29f.; II Thess 1:8; Heb 10:27; II Pet 3:7; Rev 11:5; 18:8; 19:20; 20:9f., 14f.; 21:8.

⁶⁵ Mt 7:13; Jn 17:12; Acts 8:20; Rom 9:22ff.; Phil 1:28; 3:19; II Thess 2:3; I Tim 6:9; Heb 10:39; II Pet 2:1.

⁶⁶ I Thess 5:3; II Thess 1:9 (I Tim 6:9).

⁶⁷ Rom 1:32; 6:21ff.; 7:5; 8:6; I Cor 15:21f.; 15:56; II Cor 2:16; 7:10; Jas 1:15; 5:20; I Jn 5:16; Rev (2:11); (20:6); 20:14; 21:8.

⁶⁸ Rom 6:21f.; II Cor 11:15; Phil 3:19; I Pet 4:17.

⁶⁹ Gal 6:8; II Pet 1:4; 2:12.

⁷⁰ E.g. βασανίζειν (torment): (Mk 5:7f.; ct. 1:24); (Rev 14:10); (20:10); φθείρειν, διαφθείρειν, καταφθείρειν (disintegrate): I Cor 3:17 (II Cor 4:16); Rev 11:18; II Pet 2:12; ἐσθίειν (eat, consume): Heb 10:26f.; κολάζειν (punish: II Pet 2:9).

⁷¹ E.g. ἀποθνήσκειν (die, be dead): cf. Jn 8:24; Lk 20:36; Jn 11:26; ἀπόλλυναι (perish, dissolve, come to an end, lose): Mt 10:28, 39; 16:25; Lk 13:3; 17:27, 29; 20:16; Jn 12:25; Rom 2:12; I Cor 10:10f.; 15:18; (II Thess 2:10); (Heb 1:11); (Jas 4:12); II Pet 3:5ff.; Jude 5-7; (ἐξ)όλοθρεῖν (cut off, destroy): Acts 3:23; Heb 11:28.

⁷² The term αἰώνιος should not be translated 'eternal' because that word has philosophical connotations, a contrast of time with eternity, that has no place in Scripture. The Bible presents man totally as a temporal creature whom God relates to, in both salvation and judgment, totally in time and history, this age and the age to come. Cf. O. Cullmann, *Christ and Time*, London 1952; idem, *Salvation in History*, London 1967.

(ὅλεθρος, II Thess 1:9). For the destiny of the righteous the New Testament uses the same adjective: everlasting judgment (κρίμα, Heb 6:2),⁷³ everlasting salvation (σωτηρία, Heb 5:9), everlasting redemption (λύτρωσις, Heb 9:12), everlasting life (ζωή, Mt 25:46).

In Mt 25:46 Jesus places together both the destiny of the righteous and that of the cursed:

Then they will go away into everlasting punishment (κόλασιν)
But the righteous into everlasting life.

The two destinies are represented as co-extensive, but they leave two questions unexplained. (1) What is the punishment? (2) Are the two destinies everlasting processes of 'everlasting living' and 'everlasting punishing' or are they point actions, a one-time dispensing of life and dispensing of punishment that have an everlasting effect? On the second question, similar texts help us to understand that the latter alternative is the proper interpretation of the Mt 25:46. When Jude 7 refers to Sodom undergoing the judgment of 'everlasting fire' it does not mean that Sodom is ever burning, but that the effect of the burning lasts forever. When Hebrews speaks of 'an everlasting salvation' (σωτηρία αἰωνία, 5:9) or 'an everlasting redemption' (αἰωνία λύτρωσις, 9:12) accomplished by the sacrifice of Christ 'once for all' (ἐφάπαξ, 9:12; cf. 7:27; 10:10), it is clear that it does not mean an everlasting process of saving or redeeming but rather a one-time act of salvation and redemption that has an everlasting effect. The same is true of the expression 'everlasting judgment' (κρίμα αἰώνιον) in Heb 6:2. As Delitzsch long ago pointed out, the phrase refers to the final judgment at Christ's second appearing (Heb 9:28) that decides forever the blessedness of the righteous and the damnation of the wicked.⁷⁴

Only one passage speaks of torment 'into (or up to, εἰς) the ages of the ages,' and it refers to the punishment of non-human figures, 'the devil, . . . the beast and the false prophet' (Rev 20:10), in a vision-revelation full of highly symbolic scenes. If the text means torment without end, it appears to contradict the teaching at Heb 2:14 that Jesus will destroy (καταργεῖν) the devil.

⁷³ Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1868, I, 272: 'κρίμα αἰώνιον is the final judgment, deciding forever the blessedness of the righteous and the damnation of the wicked (Acts xxiv. 25).' That is, it is a one-time point action with an everlasting effect.

⁷⁴ See above, note 73.

The most important and frequent terms for the punishment of sin are death (θάνατος) and destruction or annihilation (ἀπώλεια) and their corresponding verbs.⁷⁵ How did this kind of language come to be understood by the later patristic and the medieval church to imply everlasting suffering? The change very probably came about, as Harnack argued, from the fusion of the gospel with Platonic philosophy,⁷⁶ especially by the Alexandrian school of Clement and Origen, which resulted in 'the transformation of the ecclesiastical tradition into a philosophy of religion.'⁷⁷ This fusion promoted in the church a dualistic Platonic anthropology that shifted the Christian hope and the judgment of God from the parousia of Christ and the resurrection of the dead to the departure of the soul to heaven or hell at death.⁷⁸ Probably influenced also by the Gnostics, it redefined redemption from a redemption *of* matter to a redemption *from* matter. With its acceptance of the philosophical dogma of the immortal soul it paved the road to the doctrine of universal salvation (Origen) or of an everlasting dualism of good and evil (Augustine), the kingdom of God above and the continuing hell below.⁷⁹

CONCLUSION

The New Testament's teaching of resurrection to immortality as God's gift only to those belonging to Jesus Christ⁸⁰ defines its understanding both of salvation in Christ and of God's judgment on those

⁷⁵ See above, notes 65, 67, 71.

⁷⁶ A. Harnack, *Outlines of the History of Dogma*, Boston 1957, 155.

⁷⁷ Harnack (note 4), II, 319–380, 319. Cf. Eusebius, *HE* 6, 37, 1; S. R. C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria*, Oxford 1971, 15, 173–81, 229.

⁷⁸ In some Jewish pseudepigrapha (Bauckham) and rabbinic writings (Billerbeck) the punishment of Gehenna ('hell') begins already in Hades ('hell') before the resurrection, as it does in the parable told by Jesus, the rich man and Lazarus (Lk 16:19–31). Cf. Bauckham (note 40), 384f.; Billerbeck (note 22), IV, 1023–1026. Jesus uses a well-known story as an illustration, however, not to give a preview of life after death. Cf. Ellis (note 47), 201–206. See above, note 57.

⁷⁹ Pace Henri Blocher, 'Everlasting Punishment and the Problem of Evil,' in Cameron (note 28), 283–312, who makes the intriguing argument that those in Hell no longer sin and that their cries are only in recognition and remorse that they had earlier rejected God. But as an Augustinian-Calvinist, Blocher should recognize that if their remorse is a 'godly sorrow' (II Cor 7:10), it is the product of the Holy Spirit in his work of redemption; if only a remorse that they were caught and judged, that remorse continues to be sin.

⁸⁰ Jn 5:28f.; I Cor 15:22f., 53ff.; II Tim 1:10; cf. Mt 25:46; Mk 10:30 parr; Jn 6:40; Rom 2:7; 6:23; I Pet 1:4.

outside Christ. In the case of the latter it represents, as a good number of writers have recognized,⁸¹ a judgment effecting the annihilation of their being. This judgment will be God's act on the last Day of this age when the 'just and unjust,'⁸² the living and the dead raised to life, will stand before Jesus Christ to receive his verdict, 'each according to what he has done in the (mortal, Adamic) body.'⁸³ For the impenitent it will involve 'weeping and gnashing of teeth,'⁸⁴ a sense of loss and pain proportionate to God's just recompense to each,⁸⁵ and it will culminate in 'the second death'⁸⁶ in the 'lake of fire,'⁸⁷ an utter destruction and extinction of existence.⁸⁸ 'Judgment Day' will be a somber, awesome and universally panoramic occasion in which all mankind and the hosts of angels and archangels will see and will recognize God to be 'both righteous and the One who counts righteous' those who have faith in Jesus who, as a propitiation, bore their 'everlasting punishment' on the cross of Calvary.⁸⁹

God's last word is not judgment but salvation. It is the magnificent biblical teaching of resurrection to immortality⁹⁰ and everlasting life in 'a new heavens and a new earth.'⁹¹ At that wonderful time the whole of God's creation will be in perfect harmony and the former 'Silent Planet'⁹² will resonate with God's praise and prospects. And all evil in God's universe, including all evil creatures, will have passed into nothingness and 'shall not be remembered, nor come into mind' anymore.⁹³

⁸¹ Cf. B. F. C. Atkinson, *Life and Immortality*, Taunton UK c. 1968; D. L. Edwards and John Stott, *Evangelical Essentials*, Downers Grove IL 1988, 312–329 (John Stott); Michael Green, *Evangelism Through the Local Church*, London 1990, 69f.; H. E. Guillebaud, *The Righteous Judge*, Taunton UK 1964; P. E. Hughes, *The True Image*, Grand Rapids 1989, 398–407; C. Pincock, 'The Destruction of the Finally Impenitent,' *CTR* 4 (1989–90), 243–259; J. W. Wenham, 'The Case for Conditional Immortality,' in Cameron (note 28), 161–191. Cf. also the literature cited by J. L. Garrett, *Systematic Theology*, 2 vols., Grand Rapids 1995, II, 786–807; R. H. Willis, "'Torments of Hell': Conditional Immortality and the Doctrine of Final Punishment among Seventeenth-Century English Baptists," Ph.D. Diss. SWBTS, Ft. Worth TX 1995.

⁸² Acts 24:15; cf. Lk 13:28f.; Jn 5:28f.; Heb 9:27.

⁸³ II Cor 5:10; cf. Mt 25:31–46; Rev 20:11–15; 21:5–8.

⁸⁴ Mt 8:11f.; cf. 22:13f.; 24:51 Q; 25:14, 30; Lk 19:11, 27; Rev 18:9f.

⁸⁵ Lk 12:40, 46ff.

⁸⁶ Rev 2:11; 20:6, 14; 21:8.

⁸⁷ Rev 20:10–15; cf. Mt 5:22; 13:40–43, 49f.; Mk 9:47f. par; Jn 15:6; Heb 10:26f.;

II Pet 3:7–13.

⁸⁸ Mt 7:13f.; II Thess 1:7ff.

⁸⁹ Isa 53:4–12; Lk 23:33; Rom 3:25f.; I Pet 2:24.

⁹⁰ I Cor 15:53ff.

⁹¹ II Pet 3:13; cf. Isa 65:17; 66:22.

⁹² Cf. C. S. Lewis, *Out of the Silent Planet*, London 1938.

⁹³ Isa 65:17; cf. II Pet 3:13; Rev 21:4.

APPENDIX

NEW TESTAMENT TERMS USED FOR THE FATE
OF UNBELIEVERS

I. VERBS

ἀποθνήσκειν = מָוָה (die, be dead): cf. Jn 8:24; Lk 20:36; Jn 11:26.

ἀπόλλυναι = נָכַח (perish, lose, dissolve, destroy, come to an end): Mt 10:28, 39; 16:25; Lk 13:3; 17:27, 29; 20:16; Jn 12:25; Rom 2:12; I Cor 10:10f.; 15:18; (II Thess 2:10); (Heb 1:11); (Jas 4:12); II Pet 3:5ff.; Jude 5–7.

βασανίζειν (torment): (Mk 5:7f.; ct. 1:24); (Rev 14:10); (20:10).

διαφθείρειν = נָפַח (disintegrate): (II Cor 4:16); Rev 11:18.

ἐσθίειν (eat, consume): Heb 10:26f.

(ἐξ) ὀλοθρεύειν = נָכַח, נָפַח (destroy) (cut off, destroy): Acts 3:23; Heb 11:28.

καταργεῖν (abolish, waste, destroy): II Thess 2:8; II Tim 1:10; Heb 2:14.

καταφθείρειν (disintegrate): II Pet 2:12.

κολάζειν (punish): II Pet 2:9.

φθείρειν (disintegrate, corrupt): I Cor 3:17.

II. NOUNS

ἀπώλεια = נָכַח (destruction, annihilation, ruin):

Mt 7:13; Jn 17:12; Acts 8:20; Rom 9:22ff.; Phil 1:28; 3:19; II Thess 2:3; I Tim 6:9; Heb 10:39; II Pet 2:1; 3:7, 16.

ἐκδίκησις (vengeance, recompense): Lk 18:7f.; II Thess 1:8; Heb 10:30f.

ὄλεθρος (destruction, death): I Thess 5:3; II Thess 1:9; (I Tim 6:9).

γεέννα = גֶּהֶנְמַא (hell): Mt 5:22, 29, 30; 10:28; 23:15, 33; Mk 9:47f. (Isa 66:24); Jas 3:6.

κόλασις (punishment, a cutting off): Mt 25:46.

ὀργή = אַרְף (wrath [of God]):

Mt 3:7; Jn 3:36; Rom 1:18; 2:5, 8; 3:5; 5:9; 9:22; Eph 2:3; 5:6; Col 3:6; I Thess 1:10; (2:16); 5:9; Rev 6:17; 11:18; 16:19; 19:15.

θάνατος = מוֹת (death):

Rom 1:32; 6:21ff.; 7:5; 8:6; I Cor 15:21f.; 15:56; II Cor 2:16; 7:10; Jas 1:15; I Jn 5:16; Rev (2:11); (20:6); 20:14; 21:8.

πῦρ = אֵשׁ (fire):

Mt 5:22; 13:42, 50; 25:41; Mk 9:47f.; Lk 17:29f.; II Thess 1:8; Heb 10:27; II Pet 3:7; Rev 11:5; 18:8; 19:20; 20:9f., 14f.; 21:8.

τέλος = סוֹף (end): Rom 6:21f.; II Cor 11:15; Phil 3:19; I Pet 4:17.

τιμωρία (punishment): Heb 10:9.

φθορά = תִּפְזָה (disintegration, decay): Gal 6:8; II Pet 1:4, 2:12.

III. ADJECTIVES

αἰώνιος – αἰών = עוֹלָם (everlasting, age-lasting) ct. eternal.

Modifying:

A. ἀμαρτημα (sin): Mk 3:29 κρίμα (judgment): Heb 6:8.

ὄλεθρος (destruction): II Thess 1:9.

κόλασις (punishment): Mt 25:46 κρίσις (judgment): Mk 3:29 A.

πῦρ (fire): Mt 18:8; 25:41; Jude 7.

B. Compare

1. Ps 24:7 (everlasting temple doors & gates); Dt 35:15 (everlasting hills); I Sam 27:8 (everlasting nations); I Chron 15:2 (everlasting levitical priesthood); Pv 22:28 (everlasting landmark). Rom 16:25; II Tim 1:9; Tit 1:2 (everlasting times, χρόνοι).

2. Mt 25:46 (everlasting life); Heb 5:9 (everlasting salvation); 6:2 (everlasting judgment); 9:12 (everlasting redemption).

Process or Effect?

IV. ANALOGIES

A. Inanimate Objects

1. Burned up chaff (Mt 3:12), weeds (Mt 13:40), tree (Mt 7:19), branch (Jn 15:6).
2. Uprooted plant (Mt 15:13), chopped down tree (Lk 13:7), bad fish thrown away (Mt. 13:48).
3. House destroyed by hurricane (Mt 7:27).

B. Human Life

1. Wicked tenants destroyed (Mt 21:41).
2. Rejector ground to powder (Mt 21:44).
3. Evil servant cut to pieces (Mt 24:51).
4. Galileans killed by Pilate (Lk 13:2).
5. Men killed by falling tower (Lk 13:4).
6. Those drowned in the flood (Lk 17:27).
7. Those burned up at Sodom (Lk 17:29; Jude 7).
8. Lot's wife turned to salt (Lk 17:32).
9. Rebels slain (Lk 19:14, 27).
10. Debtors kept in prison (Mt 5:26; 18:34f).
11. Those thrown out of party into darkness (Mt 22:13). Cf. Mt 8:12.
12. Worthless servant thrown out of house into the dark (Mt 25:30).

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

PROPHECY IN THE NEW TESTAMENT
CHURCH – AND TODAY

The manifestations of prophecy in the New Testament church are best understood in the light of their background in Israel and in the mission of Jesus. They may then more clearly shed their own light on the possible presence and meaning of prophetic proclamation in the church today. The present chapter will, it is hoped, further the discussion of this important subject. To establish the viewpoints that are here rather briefly presented, I must refer the reader to other publications where the various issues are taken up in detail.¹

ANTECEDENTS TO CHRISTIAN PROPHECY

Christian prophecy is rooted in Israel's experience in which God revealed his mind to his people through divinely chosen individuals. As such, it has a number of characteristics in common with Old Testament prophecy. It is viewed, however, as an eschatological fulfilment of biblical promises (Acts 2:16–21; Joel 2:28–32), and it is more closely related to later Old Testament and intertestamental writings in which certain modifications of the classical forms of prophecy occur.² Two such modifications are the inspired exposition of earlier Scriptures, itself understood as prophecy, and the increasing affinity of the gift of prophecy with the gift of divine wisdom.³ The latter appears in the Wisdom of Solomon, for example, where wisdom is said to reside in the 'holy prophet' Moses; and at Qumran

¹ Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Lanham MD 1998, 26–52, 116f.; idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids 1993, 147–236.

² According to some ancient Jewish writers prophecy had ceased before the time of Christ, but other writers witness to its continuation: cf. R. Meyer and G. Friedrich, 'προφήτης,' *TDNT* 6 (1968), 815–861; É. Cothenet, 'Prophétisme dans le Nouveau Testament,' *DBS* 8 (1972), 1224–1233. See E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 49f.

³ Cf. E. E. Ellis, "'Wisdom" and "Knowledge" in I Corinthians,' *Prophecy* (note 1), 45–62.

Daniel the wise man is regarded as a prophet.⁴ This development is pronounced in the apocalyptic writings, the literary expression of a movement that is probably to be viewed as the child of both prophecy and wisdom. It is especially evident when the apocalyptic seers combine, within the context of a revelation of final and cosmic dimension, the prophetic vision and word of knowledge with the wise discernment of its meaning.

Prophecy and wisdom manifest a growing convergence also because of the increasing association or identification of both with Israel's Scriptures. From this perspective prophecy came to include not only a divine word or vision or discernment but also an inspired, prophetic exposition and current application of earlier biblical prophecies.⁵ This view is reflected in the rabbinic tradition where the prophets are regarded as the oldest expositors of the law.⁶ It is similarly implied in the inspired exposition of Daniel and of the wise teachers of Qumran,⁷ the *maskilim*, who appear to be the direct antecedents⁸ of the Christian prophets and, in important respects, of Jesus as well.

JESUS AS PROPHET

Jesus is identified in the Gospels as a prophet, usually because of his miraculous powers but also in relation to his destined crucifixion,⁹ his supernatural discernment¹⁰ and his synagogue teaching.¹¹ The synagogue teaching included, in accordance with the custom, the exposition of Scripture and was characterized by authority (ἐξουσία) and wisdom (σοφία).¹² Since this kind of exposition was recognized to be within the proper role of a prophet,¹³ it may have contributed to the conviction that Jesus was a prophet.

⁴ Wis 7:27; 11:1; 4QFlor 2:3.

⁵ Ellis (note 2), 46–50. But see D. E. Avne, *Revelation*, 3 vols. Dallas 1998, I, lxxxiii.

⁶ Meyer and Friedrich (note 2), 817.

⁷ E.g. Dan 9:2; 1QpHab 7:3f.

⁸ Probably to be included within the same apocalyptic sector of Judaism are John the Baptist, who is recognized as a prophet (Mt 11:9; 14:5), and those prophetic voices who herald the birth of Jesus in Luke (1:46, 67; 2:25–32, 36).

⁹ Lk 13:33f. On the association of prophecy and martyrdom, cf. Meyer and Friedrich (note 2), 781f., 834f.

¹⁰ Lk 7:39; Jn 4:19.

¹¹ Lk 4:24. Cf. M. Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, Edinburgh 1981, 63–71.

¹² Mk 1:21f.; 6:2.

¹³ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Role of the Christian Prophet in Acts,' *Prophecy* (note 1), 132–138.

In Acts Jesus is identified by his disciples as the prophet like Moses, a figure in Jewish expectation around whom in the last days the community of the renewed Israel would be gathered.¹⁴ Within this context Jesus 'the prophet' becomes a messianic designation for Jesus without, of course, excluding other more exalted predicates.¹⁵ Jesus also is recognized as the one who, after his resurrection, imparts the gift of prophecy along with other gifts of ministry to his followers.¹⁶ As the exalted Lord in whom all divine gifts fully and ultimately reside, he remains the unique prophet (and apostle, teacher, miracle worker, healer, bishop)¹⁷ who continues his ministry in the manifestation of his powers through his followers.

PROPHECY AS 'SPIRITUAL' GIFT

The gifts or 'charisms'¹⁸ from the risen Lord are qualified in Acts and Paul in ways that help to clarify, particularly, the nature and meaning of the gift of prophecy. (1) They are exercised in the name of Jesus and issue in a confession of him.¹⁹ (2) They are the activity of the same Spirit, albeit in a different role, who is manifest in the present creation (Gen 1:2) and in the Old Testament prophets. Thus the gifts can be described as the fulfilment of Old Testament promises²⁰ and, alternatively, Old Testament accounts of the Spirit can be associated with the present activity of the Spirit in the church.²¹ (3) At the same time the gifts are realities of the coming age, a new work of the Spirit that is so different that those who are incorporated into it can be called 'a new creation.'²² Christological in their

¹⁴ Acts 3:22f.; 7:37; cf. Mt 11:3, Jn 6:14; 7:40; 1 QS 9:11.

¹⁵ Cf. O. Cullmann, *The Christology of the New Testament*, London ²1963, 13–50.

¹⁶ Mk 1:8; Acts 2:33; Eph 4:8; cf. I Cor 12:4–6. The gifts can also be ascribed by some New Testament writers to God or to the Spirit. Cf. Acts 15:8; I Cor 12:11; Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 1), 63–71.

¹⁷ Cf. I Cor 1:24; Heb 3:1; Acts 3:22; 2:22; 3:6–16; I Pet 2:25.

¹⁸ Apart from I Pet 2:5; 4:10 the terms *χαρίσματα* ('gifts') and *πνευματικά* ('spiritual gifts') are found in the New Testament only in the Pauline literature. But the endowments indicated by the terms are widely evident throughout early Christianity. Cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 35–40; see also G. D. Fee, *God's Empowering Presence*, Peabody MA 1994, 28–35. Somewhat differently, C. Forbes, *Prophecy and Inspired Speech in Early Christianity and its Hellenistic Environment*, Tübingen 1995.

¹⁹ Acts 3:6; I Cor 12:3.

²⁰ Acts 2:16f.; Eph 4:7f.; Lk 4:21.

²¹ Rom 7:14; I Cor 10:3. Cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 26–52.

²² II Cor 5:17. Cf. *Diognetus* 1, 5f.: Christians are 'a new race.'

origin and in their focus, they belong to the same sphere of reality that characterize, throughout, the work of the Spirit in the ministry of Jesus. No less than Christ's miracles and his 'kingdom of God' proclamation and biblical exposition, the gifts of the Spirit set forth the 'mystery' and manifest the reality of the new creation that is the kingdom of God.²³ Eph 4:8, 11 exemplifies their eschatological character: 'When [Christ] ascended on high . . . , he gave gifts to men . . . , apostles, prophets, evangelists, and teaching shepherds.' It is evident from their origin in Christ and from their eschatological character that the gifts are to be found only in the church, the community of the resurrection, where they make manifest the hidden presence of the future that will be publicly revealed only at the parousia of Jesus Christ.

(4) The gifts may be expressed in the singular as the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:38) or of salvation (Rom 6:23). Elsewhere in the Pauline literature and by implication in Acts 2:17ff. they are enumerated severally and are in some measure classified. The 'spiritual' gifts or *pneumatika* form one such classification. In Rom 1:11 such a gift (χάρισμα πνευματικόν) is to be distinguished from other charisms, and in other passages these endowments are identified as gifts of inspired speech or discernment, gifts that apparently are regarded as 'the higher gifts.'²⁴ In a word the 'spiritual' gifts are prophetic-type gifts: Those who possess them, the pneumatics, are in I Cor 14:37 identified or closely associated with prophets; and the knowledge of mysteries and the discernment characteristic of prophets (in I Cor 13:2; 14:29) are attributed also to pneumatics (in I Cor 2:7, 14f.; cf. 14:2). These *pneumatika*, then, form the context within which Christian prophecy is to be understood even if for Paul the term προφητεία had a more restricted connotation. They were prominent in the worship and teaching of the church²⁵ just as gifts of oversight, for example, were given precedence in other aspects of the church's life.²⁶

²³ Cf. Mt 12:28, 41f.; 13:10–17; Lk 4:18f., 21; 17:20f. Cf. I Cor 1:24; 2:6–16 with 4:20. The revelation of the mysteries of the kingdom of God is an essential part of early Christian prophecy. Cf. I Cor 13:2; Rev. 10:7; Cf. G.K. Beale, *Revelation*, Grand Rapids 1999, 543ff.

²⁴ I Cor 2:13; 12:1ff. Cf. I Cor 12:31 with 14:1 (ζηλοῦν).

²⁵ E.g. Acts 13:1; 15:32; I Cor 14; Gal 6:1; I Thess 5:19f.; Jas 3:1; Rev 13; see note 26.

²⁶ Acts 14:23; 20:17, 28; Phil 1:1; I Tim 3:4; Jas 5:14; III Jn 1, 9. Cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 87–121; E. Schweizer, *Church Order in the New Testament*, London 1961.

Finally, (5) according to the New Testament the spiritual gifts – including prophecy – are mediated by angels, who are called ‘the spirits of the prophets’ (I Cor 14:32; Rev 22:6), or ‘ministering spirits’ (Heb 1:14) or just ‘spirits’ who are involved in prophetic proclamation (I Jn 4:1). This view of the *pneumatika* also seems to be reflected in Paul’s reference to his (prophetic) ‘spirit’ praying through him in strange tongues (I Cor 14:14) and in the benediction, the Lord be with ‘your spirit’ (Gal 6:18). In connection with prophecy it apparently has its conceptual background in the association of angels with the Old Testament prophets and with the wise teachers (*maskilim*) at Qumran, and it finds its experiential confirmation in the visions of the Christian pneumatics.²⁷ It has important implications, moreover, for the New Testament’s understanding of prophetic inspiration, both of the true prophets and of the false.

THE ROLE OF THE PROPHET

Early Christian prophecy displays its distinctive character in its christological model, in its role vis-à-vis false prophecy and in its rather unusual manifestation as a gift of strange tongues. In its christological orientation it reflects the forms of prophetic expression that characterized the Lord’s earthly ministry—predictive oracle (Acts 11:27f.), inspired teaching and discernment (Rom 12:6), exposition of Scripture. The last two, prophetic teaching and exposition, very likely are the origin of certain preformed traditions in the New Testament.²⁸ For example, the ‘faithful sayings’ of the Pastoral epistles (e.g. I Tim 1:15, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος) may represent the teaching of a circle of prophets, and the λέγει κύριος quotations of the Old Testament very probably do (e.g. II Cor 6:14–18). The latter, one may add, employ a *peshet* technique found at Qumran, i.e. a particular interpretive elaboration and application of the biblical passage to the current, end-time situation. Expository patterns like that found in I Cor 2:6–16 also appear to be the work of prophets or pneumatics. They reflect

²⁷ II Cor 12:1f., 7; Acts 12:7; 27:23; Rev 22:6; perhaps Acts 12:15. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 1), 23–44; J. Reiling, ‘Prophecy, the Spirit and the Church,’ *Prophetic Vocation in the New Testament and Today*, ed. J. Panagopoulos, Leiden 1977, 58–76.

²⁸ Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 1), 147–172; idem, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 44f. See below, 268f.

methods of interpretation that were known in Judaism and that were used previously by Jesus.²⁹

Prophecy occurs in the early church both as the occasional utterance of various members of the congregation and as the continuing ministry of a relatively few persons within it. In the latter case it is apparently the gift of those who are recognized 'to have prophecy' (ἔχειν προφητείαν) and who are designated prophets or pneumatics.³⁰ Such persons conduct their ministry in one congregation³¹ or throughout a region,³² singly or more often in groups.³³ The prophets can be differentiated from their fellow pneumatics, the teachers, by their knowledge of divine mysteries and by the experience that imparts such knowledge (I Cor 13:2), by their ability to deliver oracles from God and, consequently, by the greater authority of their biblical interpretation. But as Professor Greeven has rightly observed, no rigid line of division can be drawn between the exposition of prophets and that of teachers.³⁴

When true to their calling, the pneumatics and especially the prophets among them, are primarily concerned with the building up (οἰκοδομή) of the covenant community. They regard their message and conduct as a 'testimony to Jesus'³⁵ in contrast to the speculative endeavors and divisive ethics of those who have misused or counterfeited the gifts.³⁶ They may on occasion predict temporal disasters and, also like Jesus, they may perform miracles, exhort men to repentance and warn of the final judgment.³⁷ Equally they may exhort believers concerning their responsibilities to do good works in the world,³⁸ but they do not appear to regard the reform of the society of the present age, the οἰκουμένη, as a part of their task.

²⁹ E.g. Mt 21:33–44; Lk 10:25–37. Cf. Ellis (note 2), 96–101; idem, *Prophecy* (note 1), 173–187, 237–253; idem (note 28), 31f., 172–183.

³⁰ Cf. H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, London 1910, 377.

³¹ Acts 13:1; 15:22, 32; 21:9; I Cor 13:2; 14:37.

³² Acts 11:27; 15:22, 32; Did 11:3ff.; cf. I Cor 16:12 with 3:22–4:1 ('stewards of the mysteries').

³³ Acts 21:10 (singly); 11:27; 13:1; cf. Jn 21:24; Rev 22:8.

³⁴ H. Greeven, 'Propheten, Lehrer, Vorsteher bei Paulus,' *ZNTW* 44 (1952–53), 28f.

³⁵ I Cor 12:3; Col 3:16f.; Rev 19:10: 'The spirit of prophecy is the testimony to Jesus.' Cf. I Cor 2:6–16; 3:1ff.; 13:2; Col 2:3–9; Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 1), 3–22.

³⁶ I Cor 3:1–3; II Cor 11:4, 13; Col 2:18f.; I Tim 1:4; Tit 1:10ff.; cf. Rev 2:20.

³⁷ Acts 11:28; cf. Mk 13:2. Cf. Acts 13:1 with 14:1, 15; 17:30f.; cf. Rev 11.

³⁸ This assumes that the New Testament authors themselves write as prophets or pneumatics. Generally their exhortations relate to personal ethics (Eph 2:10;

In the early church the individual prophet was not the final judge of the validity of his own message; rather he was to be subject to the regulation or testing (διακρίνειν) of other recognized prophets. Only after his message had been vetted was it to be received as the word of the Lord.³⁹ Apparently it was tested not only to distinguish the Spirit's word from the prophet's natural impulses but also to identify and exclude perverse, false prophecy.

Prophets in the early church faced their most formidable challenge in their counterfeit, the false prophets. Implicitly or explicitly such pseudoprophets are predicted or actually come into view in virtually all strata of the New Testament. Emerging as imitators or defectors and as opponents of the New Testament apostles and prophets,⁴⁰ they are accused by the New Testament writers of conveying a different spirit and proclaiming another Jesus and a different gospel.⁴¹ They mediate a teaching of demons,⁴² characterized by greed,⁴³ asceticism and/or sexual licentiousness.⁴⁴ Furthermore, they promote distorted attitudes toward angelic spirits – in Colossians a false humility, in Jude an arrogant irreverence – and a displacement or disparagement of the proper, central role of Jesus.⁴⁵ The presence of false prophecy and the uncertainties involved in discerning it caused the gift of prophecy itself, despite occasional revivals of it, gradually to fall into disuse and in some measure into disrepute.

PROPHECY AND TONGUES

Speaking in tongues or languages (λαλεῖν γλώσσαις), *glossolalia*, is used in the New Testament as a technical term for one of the *pneumatika*, i.e. the spiritual gifts. As such it is found almost exclusively in Acts and I Corinthians; but the phenomenon appears quite widely in early

4:25–29; I Pet 3:8–11; 4:15f.), but they are not without social implications (Col 3:22–4:1; Eph 6:9; Plm 16; Jas 2:1–9, 15f., 5:1–8). Cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 155ff.

³⁹ I Cor 14:29; cf. I Thess 5:19ff.; I Jn 4:1 (δοκιμάζειν); Rev 2:2 (πειράζειν). Did 11:7 forbids testing (διακρίνειν) by the congregation.

⁴⁰ E.g. Mt 7:15; Mk 13:22; Acts 13:6; II Pet 2:1; cf. Did 11:5ff.; Hermas, *Mandates* 11:7. See Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 1), 101–115; idem (note 28), 314–318.

⁴¹ II Cor 11:4, 13ff.; Gal 1:6; I Jn 4:3; cf. Jude 4.

⁴² I Tim 4:1; cf. Jas 3:15; Rev 16:13f.

⁴³ Phil 3:19; Rom 16:18.

⁴⁴ Col 2:16ff.; II Tim 3:6; Jude 7f.; Rev 2:20.

⁴⁵ I Cor 12:3; II Pet 2:1–3; I Jn 4:1–3. Cf. Ellis (note 28), 314–318.

Christianity⁴⁶ and, from time to time, throughout the history of the church.

As a spiritual gift, speaking in tongues is identified as a 'higher' charism that Paul himself frequently manifests and urges believers to seek zealously.⁴⁷ As a gift of inspired speech it has a number of affinities with prophecy. Perhaps experienced earlier by the Old Testament prophets,⁴⁸ it is identified in the book of Acts with prophecy.⁴⁹ The same phenomenon appears in I Cor 14, along with prophecy, as a less desirable but nonetheless a recognized form of prophetic proclamation. Like prophecy, 'tongues' can be manifested in an ecstatic or non-ecstatic manner. Like prophecy, they are spoken 'in the Spirit' and therefore, when rightly interpreted, mediate the mind of God.⁵⁰

Unlike prophecy, as Paul uses the term, tongues are manifested with the speaker's mind (νοῦς) held in abeyance. They are the prayer of his 'spirit,' directed to God, and do not instruct his mind or the minds of his hearers. Consequently, as a public manifestation in church they are less appropriate than prophecy and are to be restricted or, when no one gifted to interpret is present, to be abstained from.⁵¹ In another analogy the unintelligible tongues are apparently regarded as a hidden prophetic word whose hearers 'hear but do not understand.' Like Jesus' parables, they are a word of condemnation upon unbelievers.⁵² But, Paul implies, this kind of prophetic proclamation is inappropriate in church because it does not accord with the church's present ministry of redemption. Nevertheless, when given in a language that is understood (Acts 2) or when accompanied by the Spirit's interpretation, tongues are a legitimate form of Christian prophecy.

⁴⁶ Cf. Mk 16:17; Rom 8:26; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 5, 6, 1; Tertullian, *Against Marcion* 5, 8, end; Origen, *Contra Celsus* 7, 9; H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila*, Oxford 1976, 60, 79f. (prophecy evidenced but not tongues).

⁴⁷ I Cor 14:18; since in 14:12 'to be zealots for' (ζηλωταὶ εἶναι) means 'to seek' (ζητεῖν), the same may be inferred for the cognate in 14:1; 12:31. Cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 48, 114ff.

⁴⁸ Cf. Isa 28:9ff.

⁴⁹ Acts 2:4, 17f.; 19:6.

⁵⁰ I Cor 14:2; 2:6–16.

⁵¹ I Cor 14:2, 4f., 13–19, 27f. Cf. Fee (note 18), 217–221.

⁵² This idea seems to be present in Paul's reference to Isa 28:11f. in I Cor 14:21. Cf. Isa 6:9; Mk 4:11f.; I Cor 14:21–25; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke. Revised Edition*, London 1996, 125, on Lk 8:10.

PROPHECY AND ECSTASY

Ecstatic manifestations of prophecy and other *pneumatika* are to be distinguished both in their cause and, ultimately, in their effect from ecstasies that are emotional, pathological or demonic in origin. Even when similar symptoms are present, they do not necessarily imply similar stimuli. As C. S. Lewis has rightly observed, 'The very same phenomenon which is sometimes not only natural but even pathological is at other times . . . the organ of the Holy Ghost.'⁵³ Paul's Damascus vision, for example, may be distinguished from a mental illness or an emotional reverie by the effects that it produced in his subsequent life.

One must resist the temptation to 'psychologize' the manifestations of the Holy Spirit. At the same time one should seek criteria by which such manifestations may be distinguished from similar, purely natural psychological phenomena. For Paul, the criteria include above all a Christological focus⁵⁴ and the fruit of love, the confessional and ethical norms of a healthy Christian life.⁵⁵ Emotion, ecstasy and 'the charismatic personality' are no more the criteria for prophecy than they are the cause of it. But an emotional exaltation may accompany the presence of the Spirit in power, an emotion that in the ministries of Jesus and of the apostles unknowledgeable observers mistook for a psychological or demonic aberration.⁵⁶ Emotional exaltation, i.e. ecstasy, in the manifestation of the spiritual gifts is properly to be judged by St. Paul's rule: 'The spirits of the prophets subject themselves to the prophets.'⁵⁷ Uncontrolled ecstasy, as in an altered state of consciousness, has ceased to be responsible Christian ecstasy.

APPLICATIONS IN THE CONTEMPORARY CHURCH

At least three characteristics of New Testament prophecy have significant implications for prophetic proclamation in the church today.

⁵³ C. S. Lewis, 'Transposition,' *The Weight of Glory and other Addresses*, New York 1949, 17.

⁵⁴ This includes, of course, not only a confession of the name (I Cor 12:3; I Jn 5:1) but also a proper theological apprehension of the meaning (I Cor 2:2, 16; I Jn 1:2; 4:2) and centrality (Col 2:2f.; Rev 19:10) of the person and work of Jesus.

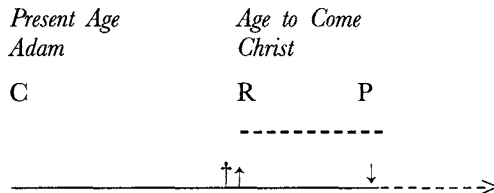
⁵⁵ I Cor 13:1; Eph 4:11-15.

⁵⁶ Mk 3:21f.; Acts 2:13; 26:24; cf. I Cor 14:23; II Cor 5:13.

⁵⁷ I Cor 14:32.

First, the biblical exposition of the early Christian prophets, as it is represented in Acts and in certain pericopes of the New Testament epistles, displays a concern to present the message in accordance with and as a fulfilment of the Scripture. In part this reflects the recognition of the principle expressed in Dt 13:1–3 that no prophetic message could be justified in the eyes of the Jewish nation unless it could show itself to be in agreement with Moses and the prophets. It also reflects the Christian prophets' own commitment not to go 'beyond what is written' (I Cor 4:6), a commitment to a normative biblical authority by which their message and conduct were ever again to be examined and corrected.

A second feature is the New Testament church's understanding of prophecy as an eschatological reality. The church lives in the time of the overlapping of the ages, between the resurrection (R) and the parousia (P) of the Lord. Thus it exists both in the age to come and in the present age. Its life and destiny belong to Christ and the world that is coming; nevertheless, it continues to live in the Adamic world, the Genesis creation (C) that is coming to its end.⁵⁸ The New Testament's conception of the church's existence in two worlds may be illustrated by the following diagram:



In the resurrected and exalted Messiah the church already participates in the age to come, and particularly so in the gifts from her Lord by which she exercises her ministry. At the same time she continues to live within the structures of the Adamic *οἰκουμένη*, the present perishing creation,⁵⁹ and has responsibilities to do good works within and for those structures. The fulfilment of both tasks, ministry and good works, requires first of all that the church not confuse them.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ellis (note 52), 12–18. See above, Chapter IX and XII, 112–119, 148–164.

⁵⁹ Eph 4:8; see notes 22, 23. In the New Testament the present *οἰκουμένη* is never the object of God's redemption; it has received his final 'no' and is destined to the judgment of death.

For the New Testament writers Christian ministry, including prophetic proclamation, has been given to the church for her own edification (οἰκοδομή) and has an eschatological dimension that radically separates such ministry from the socio-political structures of the present world. However, the church's ministry is regarded by many today as a political instrument to implement justice in the societies of the present world. For such people the New Testament perception of ministry as an eschatological reality, set apart from partisan political struggles, is socially irrelevant and, even worse, by its failure to promote their 'just cause,' it has become the supporter of 'injustice.'

To these criticisms a number of replies may be made.⁶⁰ First of all (1), one must reject the proposition that since every action (or non-action) has effects in society, every action is political. This is a vast oversimplification that is scarcely more than a clever ploy. Also (2), the refusal of our Lord to allow his ministry to be caught up in the political struggles for justice in his own time gives the highest precedent for his ministers' similar refusal today. A political ministry finds its model not in the New Testament but in the Middle Ages, a model that is theologically mistaken and that, in the present post-Constantinian period of the church, has its own problems of relevance. Like the medieval prophecy that is said to have launched the Children's Crusade to liberate Palestine, such ministry is of questionable validity and clearly does not warrant the label 'prophetic' in any New Testament sense of the word. For when 'prophetic proclamation' becomes a vehicle to promote partisan political and economic ideologies of the present world, however well intentioned, it has lost contact with the New Testament conception of ministry.

Finally (3), Christian ministry as it is perceived in the New Testament is, in fact, not isolated from the problems of the present world. In exhorting believers to follow their Lord in doing good works,⁶¹ it has beneficial secondary effects upon the whole society. In this way it encourages Christians, who are subjects of Caesar as well as citizens of the kingdom, to support in a Christian manner this or that political or economic view that they in conscience and judgment believe will ameliorate the evils in Caesar's world (οἰκουμένη). At the same time Christian ministry clearly sets forth its eschatological character

⁶⁰ Further, cf. Ellis, *Theology* (note 1), 18–25, 151–159.

⁶¹ Acts 10:38; Eph 2:10.

and guards itself from being used to set class against class and nation against nation. Furthermore, it makes clear the distinction between the gospel and good works, the redemptive powers of the age to come and the preserving salt for the present dying age. Such a distinction is not without importance for the ministry of the contemporary church.

A third characteristic of New Testament prophecy, significant for the church today, is its communal context. Prophecy was always an activity within a Christian community, whether the smaller circle of pneumatics or the larger structures of the church as a whole. As the activity of an apostle, who was a very special kind of prophetic person, it was at times a sovereign proclamation answerable only to Jesus.⁶² Otherwise, prophecy was subject to examination (ἀνακρίνειν, διακρίνειν) by other pneumatics, the prophetic and/or teaching community within the congregation.⁶³ It was thus subjected because prophecy or, specifically, the divine knowledge mediated through it is always knowledge in part, the reflection of an imperfect mirror.⁶⁴

If and when prophecy occurs in the church today, it is equally in need of examination by others in the Christian community, not with prejudice (I Thess 5:20) but with a wisdom that is both biblically informed and filled with the Spirit. Thus regulated, true prophecy can be affirmed and misguided expressions corrected in order that this ministry, so important in the early days of our faith, may in the grace of God once again be used to build up Christ's church.

⁶² I Cor 4:2–4; 9:1–3. Nevertheless, apostolic acts and teachings were not thereby exempt from counsel or critique. Cf. Gal 2:2, 11; Acts 11:2 (διακρίνειν).

⁶³ I Cor 2:14f.; 14:29.

⁶⁴ I Cor 13:9, 12.

C. HISTORY AND PROPHECY:
THE MATRIX OF BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

TOWARD A HISTORY OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY

THE ORIGINS OF A CURRENT PARADIGM

Two hundred years ago Edward Evanson, schoolmaster and unitarian Anglican of Mitcham England, published a book that marked a watershed in the reconstruction of early Christian history.¹ He proposed a *diachronic relationship* of New Testament writings, dating them sequentially through the second century in terms of their theological and ecclesiastical views. To support this he initiated a *tendency criticism* that placed the writings variously in the first, second, and even third centuries in accordance with their perceived divergence from Luke-Acts,² which Evanson regarded as the earliest and most reliable Christian source.³ Not unlike other writers⁴ he posited a *dialectic* between the Gospels of Luke and the later Matthew that was harmonized in the second century by Mark.⁵

Evanson's approach involved at least three historical-literary assumptions.⁶ (1) The earliest church was a unity. (2) Documents or parts of them that departed from the earliest teaching, that is, from

¹ E. Evanson, *The Dissonance of the Four Generally Received Evangelists Examined*, Ipswich 1792. Cf. S. Strachotta, *Edward Evanson (1731–1805): Der Theologe und Bibelkritiker*, Halle 1940; further, T. Falconer, *Certain principles in Evanson's 'Dissonance of the Four generally received Evangelists, etc.' examined*, Bampton Lectures, Oxford 1811; E. E. Ellis, 'Dating the New Testament,' *NTS* 26 (1980), 492–495; D. Carter, 'Edward Evanson,' *RGG³* II (1958), 797; S. M. Jackson, 'Edward Evanson,' *NSHERK* IV (1909), 228.

² E.g. the anti-Pauline attitude toward the law (Mt 5:17), the conception of an incarnate Logos (Jn 1:1, 14), the anointing with oil (Jas 5:14) and the attack on opponents of clerical power (II Peter; Jude) all reflected a time in the second century or later. Cf. Evanson, *Dissonance* (note 1), 141, 234f., 277, 279f.

³ Evanson, *Dissonance* (note 1), 21–33, cf. 279f., although Luke-Acts also suffered interpolations (106; e.g. Luke 1:5–2:52).

⁴ E.g. J. J. Griesbach, *Commentatio qua Marci Evangelium totum e Matthaei et Lucae Commentariis Decerptum esse monstratur*, Jena 1789–90, cited in W. R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem*, Macon GA ³1981 ('1964), 7n; F. C. Baur, *Die kanonischen Evangelien*, Tübingen 1847, 548, passim. Cf. H. Owen, *Observations on the Four Gospels*, London 1764, 49–84.

⁵ Evanson, *Dissonance* (note 1), 117f., 212f.

⁶ It also assumed that christology, in accord with Evanson's unitarian convictions, developed from the view of the earliest church that Jesus was only a man to the second-century confession of him as divine.

Luke-Acts, could be identified by internal literary criticism, whose conclusions were to be preferred over the external evidence or the attributions in the documents. (3) They were to be assigned to later dates corresponding to their particular 'tendency' toward what modern scholars call early catholicism. Working with these criteria, Evanson concluded that no document attributed 'to any christian writer, within the first half of the second century . . . , is really the work of the writer whose name it bears,' except I Clement,⁷ and that only ten New Testament books came from the apostolic age:⁸ Luke-Acts, I-II Corinthians, Galatians, I-II Thessalonians, I-II Timothy and Revelation 4-22.

Forty years later F. C. Baur of Tübingen, who was born the year that Evanson's volume was published, developed a similar theory of Christian origins. He viewed the four major letters of Paul as the foundation documents and posited a division in the early church between parties of Paul and of the pillar apostles (James of Jerusalem, Peter and John), and he followed a historical dialectic more specifically dependent on Hegelian philosophy.⁹ But like Evanson,¹⁰ he thought Mark was a harmonization of Matthew and Luke, regarded all the letters of Ignatius as pseudonymous¹¹ and employed both literary and tendency criticism to date to the second century New Testament documents that in his view mediated the original Hegelian antithesis toward an 'old catholic' synthesis.¹² In the end Baur ascribed to the apostolic period only Romans, I-II Corinthians and Galatians, on the one hand, and the book of Revelation on the other.¹³

⁷ Evanson, *Dissonance* (note 1), 10f.

⁸ All of which included later interpolations.

⁹ Already in F. C. Baur, 'Die Christuspartei in der korinthischen Gemeinde . . . ,'*TZT* 1831, IV: 76f., 136, 205f. = *Ausgewählte Werke*, 5 vols., Stuttgart 1963-75, I, 16f., 76, 145f., where the epistles of I-II Peter and James are represented as the later 'synthesis' of the dialectic. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 440-445; idem, 'Foreword,' in H. Harris, *The Tübingen School*, Grand Rapids ²1990 (¹1975), xi-xv.

¹⁰ Evanson's *Dissonance* does not seem to have been known to Baur although according to Strachotta, *Theologe* (note 1), 93, it was reviewed by J. G. Eichhorn (1793) and cited in his *Einleitung* (1805, I, 630) and in a few other German works.

¹¹ Cf. Baur, *Evangelien* (note 4), 548-567; idem, *The Church History of the First Three Centuries*, 2 vols., London 1878-79, II, 31-34 = GT: 275-278; cf. *Werke* (note 9), III, 275-278. He also regarded I Clement as a mid-second century or later writing falsely attributed to Clement.

¹² Cf. F. C. Baur, *Paul*, 2 vols., London 1875-76, II, 35, 64-74, 101-105, passim = GT: 39, 72-83, 112-116; idem, *History* (note 11), I, 99-152 = GT: 94-146.

¹³ Baur, *Paul* (note 12), I, 246-249; II, 106-111 = GT: I, 276-279; II, 116-122.

While Evanson influenced what Albert Schweitzer called the 'Ultra-Tübingen critics,' especially those in the Netherlands,¹⁴ the Baur School had a greater effect on subsequent criticism, both in its identification of the foundational documents, which Baur's associate Adolf Hilgenfeld raised to seven Pauline letters,¹⁵ and in its Hegelian interpretation of the process. This School is the ultimate background of the late dating and pseudonymous attribution of New Testament documents by subsequent scholarship.¹⁶

By the early 1900s the Baur School had become the Baur tradition and was the starting point for many scholars in Germany¹⁷ and for a number in Scotland,¹⁸ America¹⁹ and after mid-century in England.²⁰ After J.B. Lightfoot demonstrated the genuineness of I Clement, dating it to c. AD 95, and of seven letters of Ignatius (c. AD 110),²¹ followers of the Baur tradition generally shortened the time-period from Paul to the early catholic synthesis. The 'history of religions' school proposed a progression from 'Palestinian' to 'Hellenistic' Christianity that followed Baur in placing the book of Acts

¹⁴ Cf. A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, London 1948 (1912), 129 = GT: 101; cf. W. C. van Manen, 'Romans,' *EB* IV (1907), 4129f.

¹⁵ A. Hilgenfeld *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, Leipzig 1875, 246f., 328–348; idem, 'Die beiden Briefe an die Thessalonicher nach Inhalt und Ursprung,' *ZWT* 6 (1862), 225f., a member of the Baur School, added Philippians, I Thessalonians and Philemon to the 'genuine' Pauline letters. Cf. Harris, *School* (note 9), 113–126.

¹⁶ Baur's views also served a confessional interest, reflecting the conflict between Christian theism and the closed world-view of Enlightenment rationalism. Cf. Ellis, 'Foreword' (note 9), vii–xi; P. Gay, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation. I. The Rise of Modern Paganism*, New York 1967.

¹⁷ Reflecting an accommodation to Baur's approach were A. Jülicher, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London 1904, 16–30, 174–255 = GT 12–20, 136–200; J. Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity*, 2 vols., New York 1937 (1917), I, 1–10, 151 = GT: 1–7, 110; his father, B. Weiss (*A Manual of Introduction to the New Testament*, 2 vols. [London 1877]) found no pseudepigrapha in the New Testament. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Pseudonymity and Canonicity of New Testament Documents,' *Worship, Theology and Ministry in the Early Church. FS R. P. Martin*, ed. M. J. Wilkins, Sheffield UK 1992, 214 = *History and Interpretation in New Testament Perspective*, forthcoming.

¹⁸ Cf. J. Moffatt, *An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament*, Edinburgh 1918 (1911), xixff., 6f., 312, 414ff.

¹⁹ Cf. J. Knox, *Marcion and the New Testament*, Chicago 1942, 58ff., 75f., 131f., and his teacher, E. J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament*, Chicago 1937, who dated Ephesians, Luke-Acts, Hebrews and I Peter to c. AD 90–100 (196, 239, 256, 284); the Pastorals, Jude and II Peter to c. AD 125–150 (343–353). Knox, in turn, influenced a good number of students to follow in his train.

²⁰ The effect of Baur's reconstruction was delayed in England by the continuing influence of J. B. Lightfoot, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort.

²¹ J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 3 vols. in 5, London 1889, I, i, 361–365, *passim*; II, i, 328–430.

and the Prison, Pastoral and General Epistles in the post-apostolic period,²² and in the 1920s the fathers of the classical form criticism of the Gospels also furthered Baur's diachronic placement of New Testament documents. Assuming the apocalyptic Jesus of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer,²³ they supposed that Gospel traditions began to be fixed only when the early Christian expectation of a near-term end of the world faded and, using folk-tradition analogies,²⁴ they posited a long-term transmission of 'oral traditions' to date the Synoptic Gospels to the last decades of the first century.²⁵

Some of their successors continued to apply Baur's Hegelian paradigm to this and to other questions. For example, the early Christian anticipation of the end of the world (thesis) encountered the problem of the delay of the parousia (antithesis) and was resolved by a theology of salvation history represented by Luke-Acts²⁶ or by the Synoptic Gospels generally²⁷ (synthesis). Or the free ministries of the Spirit in the Pauline churches encountered the more structured church order of Jewish Christian congregations and were fused in the early

²² Cf. W. Bousset, *Kurios Christos*, Nashville 1970 (1913), 32f., 287ff., 362–377 = GT: 2, 220ff., 285–298.

²³ J. Weiss, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, Philadelphia 1971 (1892); A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, London 1948 (1906).

²⁴ Rooted ultimately in Johann Gottfried Herder's work which apparently understood Gospel traditions to be like the oral transmission in preliterate societies of Homeric songs (F. A. Wolff) and perhaps of medieval German and Scandinavian folk tradition. Cf. J. G. Herder, *Vom Erlöser der Menschen*, Riga 1796; idem, *Von Sohn Gottes*, Riga 1797 reprinted in idem, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. by B. Suphan, 33 vols., Hildesheim 1994 (1877–1913), XIX, 197, 213f., 417f.; W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: History of the Investigation of its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 79–82 = GT: 94–98; W. Ihne, 'Homerus,' *DGRBM* II, esp. 501–507; E. E. Ellis, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Grand Rapids 1993, 242f. See above, 12.

²⁵ M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, New York 1965 (1933, 1919), 9f.; but see 294, 296 = GT: 9, 294, 296; idem, *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*, München 1975 (1926), 46f.; R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, Oxford 1963 (1921), 6f., 114, 119 = GT: 7f., 120, 126; idem, *Theology of the New Testament* II, London 1955, 116f., 124f., 142 = GT: 462f., 470, 487. Bultmann apparently assumed a post-AD 70 setting for all the Gospels and, following Hilgenfeld (*Einleitung*, note 15), recognized only seven genuine Pauline letters.

²⁶ E.g. H. Conzelmann, *The Theology of St. Luke*, London 1960, 131–136 = GT: 123–127; idem, 'Luke's Place in the Development of Early Christianity,' *Studies in Luke-Acts*, ed. L. E. Keck, Nashville 1966, 306f.; E. Haenchen, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Oxford 1971, 95f.; cf. 115f. = GT: 85f., 102f.; cf. Bultmann, *Theology* (note 25), 126 = GT: 471f.; idem, *Existence and Faith*, New York 1960, 237ff. = GT: 717–73 (1948), 664ff. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Eschatology in Luke*, Philadelphia 1972, 17f. GT: *Das Lukasevangelium* (WdF 280), ed. G. Braumann, Darmstadt 1974, 394f. FT: *L'Évangile de Luc*, ed. F. Neirynck, Leuven 1989, 51–65, cf. 296–303. See above, 105–119.

²⁷ E.g. G. Strecker, *Der Weg der Gerechtigkeit*, Göttingen 1962, 47ff., 185f., 242; cf. J. Rohde, *Rediscovering the Teaching of the Evangelists*, London 1968, 94ff. = GT: 83ff.

catholic church represented by Acts, I Peter and the Pastoral Epistles.²⁸

The Baur tradition has received its most recent adherents, in varying degrees, from those who honor tradition, Conservative Evangelicals and Roman Catholics.²⁹ It has thus influenced a number of scholarly circles and has achieved something of a consensus. But Milton Friedman's comment at a colloquy on economics applies also to the history of early Christianity, 'The problem with consensus is that it is usually wrong.'³⁰

A CRITIQUE OF THE BAUR TRADITION

General Considerations

Baur's reconstruction of early Christianity was critiqued very early,³¹ and the evidence against it has multiplied throughout the twentieth

²⁸ E.g. H. von Campenhausen, *Ecclesiastical Authority and Spiritual Power*, Stanford CA 1969, 296f., cf. 81–86 = GT: 326ff., 87–93. E. Schweizer (*Church Order in the New Testament* [London 1961], 146, 229f. = GT: 209) views the process more as a continuing existential dialectic.

²⁹ Note the pseudepigraphal designations in R. P. Martin, *New Testament Foundations* II, Grand Rapids ²1983, 386 (Ephesians, Pastorals, II Peter); A. T. Lincoln, *Ephesians*, Dallas 1990, lxxiff.; R. J. Bauckham, 'Pseudo-Apostolic Letters,' *JBL* 107 (1988), 491–494 (Pastorals?, II Peter); I. H. Marshall, 'Prospects for the Pastoral Epistles,' *Doing Theology for the People of God. FS J. I. Packer*, edd. D. Lewis *et al.*, Leicester UK 1996, 137–155. Among Roman Catholics, note the shift from the first to the second edition of *The Jerome Biblical Commentary*, edd. R. E. Brown *et al.*, London ²1990, and of A. Wikenhauser–J. Schmid, *Introduction to the New Testament*, London ²1973, where Hilgenfeld's (*Einleitung*, note 15) conclusions are followed almost to the letter. Cf. Ellis, 'Pseudonymity' (note 17), 214; idem, *Documents* (note 9), 322ff.

³⁰ In biblical studies one only has to examine the divergent consensuses in the scholarship of 1800, 1850, 1900, 1950 and 1999.

³¹ Even by a member of Baur's school, A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn 1857 (¹1850), 47–50, who rejected Baur's sharp theological division between Paul and the other apostles of Christ. Cf. Harris, *School* (note 9), 220–226. It was subjected to a more sustained and historically grounded critique by J. B. Lightfoot (note 36) who offered the basic elements for an alternative reconstruction of early Christian history. In the first part of this century, Baur's reconstruction was rejected by Adolf Harnack, Adolf Schlatter and Theodor Zahn and, more recently, by Bo Reicke and by John Robinson, who detailed its weaknesses especially vis-à-vis the external historical evidence. But their views were largely ignored. Cf. A. Harnack, *The Date of Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, London 1911, 90–135; A. Schlatter, *The Church in the New Testament Period*, London 1955 (1927), 45f., 55f., 61f. = GT: *Geschichte*, 53f., 65f., 72f.; T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols., Grand Rapids 1953 (³1909), I, 136–146; II, 85–122, 262–283; III, 142–159 = GT: I, 98–104, 462–486; II, 431–441; J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, London 1976, *passim*; B. Reicke, 'Synoptic Prophecies on the Destruction of Jerusalem,' *Studies in the New Testament and Early Christian Literature. FS A. P. Wikgren*, ed. D. E. Aune, Leiden 1972, 121–134; idem, 'Chronologie der Pastoralbriefe,' *TLZ* 101 (1976), 82–94.

century. As was soon observed,³² it made exegesis the servant of an imposing philosophy of history and too easily dismissed as later romances or forgeries ancient documents that did not fit the theory. For example, Baur accepted without serious analysis the view that I Cor 1:12 referred to a *theological* problem of divided *parties* or factions of Peter and of Paul³³ although the text speaks only of an *ethical* problem of *individuals* (ἑκάστος) boasting about who baptized them.³⁴ He also had no exegetical basis for coupling I Cor 1:12 to Gal 2:1–14 or for interpreting Gal 2 as an abiding theological conflict between the apostles Peter and Paul.³⁵

J.B. Lightfoot showed that in Gal 2 the two apostles were *theologically* in agreement.³⁶ Peter's withdrawal to eat at a kosher table was motivated by timidity or, perhaps more likely, by a desire not to offend the ritually strict missionaries from the Jerusalem church. That Peter accepted Paul's rebuke and remained in friendly relationship with him is evident at the ensuing Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15) and in I Cor 15:5; 4:1; 9:5 where he is named first witness to the risen Lord, is called Paul's fellow steward of 'the mysteries of God' and is held up, along with James and other brothers of the Lord, as a model with which Paul's own apostolic rights can be compared.

Baur rightly saw, as did others before him,³⁷ the significance of Paul's opponents for understanding the history of the apostolic church. But his identification of that opposition with the pillar apostles was a highly tendentious and erroneous interpretation of I Cor 1:12 and Gal 2. Baur's reading of these texts became, to use Ernst Käsemann's phrase,³⁸ the Archimedean point for his total design of early Christian history, a point that rested not in the ancient texts but in Baur's

³² E.g. J. Haussleiter, 'Ferdinand Christian Baur and the Later Tübingen School,' *NSHERK* II, 8. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul and His Recent Interpreters*, Grand Rapids 1979, 18ff.; idem, 'Foreword' (note 9), xiif.

³³ Baur, 'Christuspartei' (note 9), 62, 76f. The view that I Cor 1:12 referred to 'parties' was traditional. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 86–90.

³⁴ Cf. J. Munck, 'The Church Without Factions,' *Paul and the Salvation of Mankind*, Richmond VA 1959, 136–139.

³⁵ Cf. Baur, 'Christuspartei' (note 9), 108–114; idem, *Paul*, 2 vols., London 1875–76, I, 124 = GT: I, 141; idem, *History* (note 11), 1, 52–56 = GT: 49–53.

³⁶ J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, London 1892, 354f. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 117n. On dating Galatians before the Council cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 255–260; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Galatians*, Grand Rapids 1982, 43–46; R. N. Longenecker, *Galatians*, Dallas 1990, lxxii–lxxxviii; Hemer (note 110), 261–307.

³⁷ E.g. Henry Hammond, J. L. von Mosheim, Nathaniel Lardner, Edward Burton. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 80–86; idem, *Documents* (note 9), 314–318, 440–445.

³⁸ E. Käsemann, 'Einführung,' to Baur, *Werke* (note 9), I, ix.

potent imagination. It led him to use a literary and tendency criticism to dismiss the four Gospels, the book of Acts, nine Pauline epistles and virtually all other New Testament documents as post-apostolic creations that did not represent or reflect the history of the first Christian generation. Baur's reconstruction, and the assumptions on which it was built, have been steadily undermined both by historical-literary criticism and by new knowledge of the first century world, represented especially by the Qumran library and by the formation of the New Testament letters.

Qumran

Most damaging to the Baurian vision of early Christian history were the Dead Sea Scrolls, discovered in the late 1940s.³⁹ They revealed features common to a first-century Palestinian Jewish sect that the Baur tradition supposed were either in dialectical opposition or were the result of a lengthy development in early Christianity. The Qumran community combined (1) an apocalyptic forecast of the soon arrival of the age-to-come with prolific writing, (2) charismatic aspects of ministry, including visions and revelations, with a highly structured, Torah-strict organization,⁴⁰ (3) the use of Greek texts along with Aramaic and Hebrew documents and (4) intense messianic expectations with an equally intense focus upon the written exposition of biblical texts.

The Qumran writings show that the land in which Jesus taught 'was no pre-literary society'⁴¹ and that apocalyptic anticipations, which Qumran and early Christianity shared, were no inhibition but rather a spur to written transmission of religious traditions.⁴² It also reveals how anachronistic and foreign to the first century Jewish setting were the theories of an oral and folkloric transmission of Jesus' word and

³⁹ For a good account and evaluation cf. F. M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, Minneapolis 1995; H. Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, Grand Rapids 1998; idem, 'The Qumran Essenes,' *The Madrid Qumran Conference*, 2 vols., ed. J. T. Barrera, Leiden 1992, I, 83–166.

⁴⁰ E.g. 1QM 1:8–11; 1QpHab 2:7; 7:1–13. Cf. O. Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung*, Tübingen 1960, 73–99; Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24) 57ff. = GT: *Jesus und Paulus. FS W. G. Kümmel*, edd. E. E. Ellis and E. Grässer, Göttingen 1975, 122ff.; M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect*, Göttingen 1986.

⁴¹ B. Gerhardsson, *The Gospel Tradition*, Lund 1986, 32.

⁴² E. E. Ellis, 'New Directions in Form Criticism,' *Jesus Christus in Historie und Theologie. FS H. Conzelmann*, ed. G. Strecker, Tübingen 1975, 304–309 = idem, *Prophecy* (note 24), 242–247.

work. 'The verbal Jesus-tradition,' writes Birger Gerhardsson, 'was at no stage pure "orality" in the meaning folklorists give the term.'⁴³ Furthermore, oral transmissions were not as a rule a long-term development since written transmission was also present virtually from the beginning and, like Qumran, both the creation and transmission of Jesus traditions were a cultivated and controlled process, a point to which we shall return.

The discoveries at Qumran also put to rest the theory, going back to Baur's predecessor, Edward Evanson, that charism and official religious structure stood in tension or opposition in early Christianity and that the latter was a sign of later Christian development. The earliest Christian literature reflects a congregational organization similar to the diaspora synagogues and to the Greek clubs and reveals clear evidence of church order;⁴⁴ if the Pastoral Epistles or the book of Acts manifest more or different structures, it was not a question of chronological development but of the needs or interests of the particular situation.⁴⁵

Qumran's use of Greek religious writings (Caves 4 and 7) was complemented by research⁴⁶ that showed more clearly how false was the dichotomy drawn by the 'history of religions' school between Palestinian and diaspora Judaism. Jewish Palestine was largely bilingual, and good Greek in a Christian document was no sign of a later date or diaspora origin, although Semitic Greek⁴⁷ might be a sign of Palestinian or Syrian origin.

⁴³ Gerhardsson, *Gospel* (note 41), 33. See above, Chapter I, 12-16; Chapter II, 25-31; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 20-39.

⁴⁴ E.g. In (1) a paid ministry, (2) an administration for the collection of gifts and offerings, (3) ministries of oversight, preaching and the reading and interpretation of Scripture and of the Apostle's letters. Cf. I Cor 9:14, Gal 6:6, I Tim 5:18; I Cor 16:1f., II Cor 8:10; Rom 12:8, Phil 1:1, Col 4:16, I Thess 5:12,27; E. E. Ellis, *Pauline Theology: Ministry and Society*, Lanham MD ³1996, 87-102, 129-145; idem, *Prophecy* (note 24), 12n.

⁴⁵ The pericopes in the Pastorals on appointed ministries and on qualifications for them represent Paul's response to *inter alia* the increasing threat of false teachers and thus a development beyond his earlier letters, but they are traditional pieces that were in use earlier elsewhere, perhaps in Rome. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Pastoral Letters,' *DPL*, 660f.; idem, 'Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles,' *Early Jewish and Christian Exegesis. FS W. H. Brownlee*, ed. C. A. Evans, Atlanta 1987, 237-253; idem, 'The Pastorals and Paul,' *ET* 104 (1992-93), 46 = GT: *TBeit* 22 (1991), 211f.; idem, *Theology* (note 44), 102-111.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. A. Fitzmyer, *A Wandering Aramean*, Missoula MT 1979, 29-56 = Grand Rapids ²1997; M. Hengel, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century After Christ*, London 1989; J. N. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* Leiden 1968; P. W. van der Horst, *Ancient Jewish Epitaphs*, Kampen 1991, 129-132.

⁴⁷ I mean the use of idiom and syntax that has parallels with Hebrew or Aramaic

The Making of the New Testament Letters

Nineteenth-century scholars generally assumed that New Testament authors wrote or dictated letters verbatim and consequently that the authorship of a particular letter could be vetted by internal criteria to determine what idiom, style and expressions were appropriate or possible for a given author. Twentieth-century criticism has now discredited that assumption (1) by a better understanding of the possible influence of the secretary on the vocabulary and style of the letter and (2) by the recognition of considerable preformed traditioned material of diverse origin that was incorporated into virtually all of the New Testament letters.

Secretaries

Secretaries were widely used in antiquity, a fact evidenced by the boast of Quintilian (*Orat.* 10, 3, 19) that he went against the fashion and wrote his own letters. Because of the difficulty and slowness of writing,⁴⁸ they were a practical necessity, and their role could vary from taking dictation to being coauthors.⁴⁹ In the New Testament they are mentioned only at Acts 15:23;⁵⁰ Rom 16:22 and I Pet 5:12,⁵¹ but their activity can be inferred elsewhere by closing greetings⁵²

and that is foreign to good Koine Greek usage (Beyer, Black, Burney, Schlatter), especially when the idiom cannot be explained as an imitation of the Septuagint (Farris). It may be only an 'interference' of Semitic features observable 'in the speech and writing of the bilinguals' (Horsley). Cf. K. Beyer, *Semitische Syntax im Neuen Testament I*, Göttingen 1962; M. Black, *An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1967; C. F. Burney, *The Aramaic Origin of the Fourth Gospel*, Oxford 1922; J. H. Moulton, W. F. Howard, N. Turner, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, 4 vols., Edinburgh 1908–76, II (1929), 412–485. A. Schlatter, 'Sprache und Heimat des vierten Evangelisten' (1902), *Johannes und sein Evangelium* (WdF 82), ed. K. H. Rengstorf, Darmstadt 1973, 28–201; S. Farris, *The Hymns of Luke's Infancy Narratives*, Sheffield UK 1985, 31–66; G. H. R. Horsley, 'The Fiction of "Jewish Greek,"' ND 5 (1989), 5–40, 40.

⁴⁸ Detailed by O. Roller, *Das Formular der paulinischen Briefe*, Stuttgart 1933, 14, 17ff.

⁴⁹ E. R. Richards, *The Secretary in the Letters of Paul*, Tübingen 1991, 97–127. Cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul the Letter-Writer*, Collegeville MN 1995, 6–37.

⁵⁰ γράψαντες διὰ χειρὸς αὐτῶν ('They wrote this letter by them,' NKJV). Cf. T. Zahn, *Die Apostelgeschichte des Lukas*, 2 vols., Erlangen 1922, I, 534f.; E. G. Selwyn, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London 1946, 12. Probably, Silas is the co-author of I–II Thessalonians (Selwyn, 14–17); Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 326f.

⁵¹ So, P. H. Davids, *The First Epistle of Peter*, Grand Rapids 1990, 198; L. Goppelt, *A Commentary on I Peter*, Grand Rapids 1993, 369f. = GT: 347f. (Silas, writing after Peter's death); Selwyn, *Peter* (note 49), 241 (Silas, 'both as draftsman and as bearer of the Epistle'). Cf. Eusebius *HE* 4, 23, 11. The phrase, διὰ . . . γράφειν, could also refer to the bearer of a letter; cf. Richards, *Secretary* (note 49), 68–73.

⁵² I Cor 16:21; Gal 6:11; Col 4:18; II Thess 3:17; cf. I Pet 5:12; Heb 13:22–25; I Jn 5:21; II Jn 12f.; III Jn 13ff.; Rev 22:21; Murphy-O'Connor (note 49), 7.

and marginal comments⁵³ 'with my own hand.' The use of a secretary by New Testament authors renders questionable any judgments about authorship based solely upon internal literary criteria. When their contribution is supplemented by non-authorial traditions incorporated into the letter, the uncertainty is multiplied.

Preformed Traditions

Preformed traditions in New Testament letters have been identified increasingly throughout the present century.⁵⁴ They include vice and virtue lists, household and congregational rules, expositions (midrashim), confessions, hymns and other forms. They cannot simply be conjectured but must be and have been substantiated by a number of literary criteria.⁵⁵ They range from none in Philemon and 8% in Philippians to 37% in I Thessalonians, 39% in I Peter, 54% in Ephesians and 70% in the epistle of Jude. With the exception of Philippians (8%) and II Timothy (16%) they are especially numerous in Pauline Prison and Pastoral letters and in the Petrine letters,⁵⁶ documents usually labeled pseudonymous by scholars in the Baur tradition.

Taken together, the widespread use of a secretary and of preformed traditions shows that the making of New Testament letters was not an individual enterprise. Unless these factors, both the input of the secretary (a very difficult matter to measure) and the effects of any preformed non-authorial pieces are taken fully into account, the authorship of the letters cannot be vetted by internal literary criteria.⁵⁷ Otherwise, it must be determined primarily by the author-

⁵³ Plm 19; I Cor 14:34f.; cf. Ellis (note 44), 67f.; idem, *Documents* (note 9), 434.

⁵⁴ Stimulated especially by E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus*, Heidelberg ²1961 (1928), and by the various commentaries of M. Dibelius.

⁵⁵ E.g. (1) the presence of introductory and concluding formulas, (2) the independence of the passage from its context, (3) a vocabulary and idiom that are in contrast to the usage elsewhere in the letter or in other writings recognized to be by the same author, (4) a very similar piece by a different contemporary author with which no direct literary dependence is probable. Cf., e.g. E. E. Ellis, 'Traditions in I Corinthians,' *NTS* 32 (1986), 481-502; idem, 'Traditions in the Pastoral Epistles' (note 45), 237-253; R. F. Collins, *Studies on the First Letter to the Thessalonians*, Leuven 1984, 17-26, 154-172; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 59-94, 407-425.

⁵⁶ I.e. Colossians (42%), I Timothy (43%), Titus (46%), I Peter (39%) and II Peter (33%). Cf. E. E. Ellis, *New Testament Documents* (note 9), 138f.; idem, 'Pastoral Epistles' (note 55), 247; G. E. Cannon, *The Use of Traditional Materials in Colossians*, Macon GA 1983, 170-174.

⁵⁷ That is, within the broad affinity into which all of the New Testament letters fall. Of course, a Platonic dialogue, say, with Paul's name on it could be discredited

ship ascriptions in the letters together with the testimony to that authorship in the patristic church.⁵⁸ Ironically, the literary criticism that brought to light the role of the secretary and of preformed traditions has been largely responsible for showing the fallacy of a viewpoint that made its case above all on literary criticism.

Christian Baur was perhaps the most perceptive student of Georg Hegel's philosophy of history and with his powerful imagination he was able, no less than his Berlin mentor, to draw live physical rabbits out of purely metaphysical silk hats.⁵⁹ His reconstruction was so brilliantly conceived that it set the questions for succeeding generations. Somewhat modified, it still has its defenders⁶⁰ and is the foundation on which the life-work of many scholars has been built, so one should not expect that it will be soon abandoned. But, as Wolfgang Geiger and Ernst Barnikol have concluded,⁶¹ Baur was primarily a systematizer and was not a critical historian. If the above arguments are valid, his reconstruction of early Christian history, with its diachronic ordering and pseudepigraphal designations of New Testament documents, has been shown to have little or no historical basis even though, like the Cheshire cat, the smile continues after the substance has disappeared.

by literary criteria, as could certain apocryphal correspondence like the letters of Paul to Seneca or 'Third Corinthians' in the Acts of Paul. For authorship ascriptions, as for other historical data, the critical historian continues to have the two-fold task enunciated by E. Bernheim: 'He tests the genuineness and demonstrates the non-genuineness' (die Echtheit prüft und die Unechtheit nachweist) of his sources. Without such demonstration, he accepts the statement of the source. Cf. E. Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode und der Geschichtsphilosophie*, New York 1970 (1889), 332, cf. 204ff. Cf. W. G. Kümmel, *Heilsgeschehen und Geschichte*, 2 vols., Marburg 1965, 1978, II, 186f.

⁵⁸ The mass of New Testament apocrypha shows that the patristic church was astute in excluding from the New Testament canon any known apostolic pseudopigrapha. Its attitude is well expressed by Serapion bishop of Antioch (†211); see below, 238 and note 141. Cf. Ellis, 'Pseudonymity' (note 17), 218.

⁵⁹ The phrase is K. R. Popper's in *The Open Society and its Enemies*, 2 vols., London 1980, II, 27.

⁶⁰ Cf. M. D. Goulder, 'A Pauline in a Jacobite Church,' *The Four Gospels* 1992. *FS F. Neirynck*, 3 vols., edd. F. Van Segbroeck *et al.*, Leuven 1992, 859-875; idem, 'John 1:1-2:12 and the Synoptics,' *John and the Synoptics*, ed. A. Denaux, Leuven 1992, 201-237, 203n.; idem, 'ΣΟΦΙΑ in I Corinthians,' *NTS* 37 (1991), 516-534; G. Lüdemann, *Opposition to Paul in Jewish Christianity*, Philadelphia 1989. J. L. Martyn, 'Paul and his Jewish-Christian Interpreters,' *USQR* 42, 1-2 (1988), 12, dubs Lüdemann 'a sort of F. C. Baur redivivus.' See also Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 444n.

⁶¹ W. Geiger, *Spekulation und Kritik*, München 1964, 239-242, passim; E. Barnikol, *Ferdinand Christian Baur als rationalistisch-kirchlicher Theologe*, Berlin 1970, 24-40, 38.

The critical task at the turn of the millennium lies, I think, in shaping a new history of early Christianity, built inductively, depending more on contemporary literary analysis and external historical evidence and resulting in a reconstruction that will do justice both to the exegesis of the texts and to the historical testimony in the New Testament, in the patristic church and in the wider domain of contemporary Judaism and of Greco-Roman society. To that task the following suggestions are offered.

ON THE DATING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

An acceptable history must combine an analysis of first century Christian compositions with relevant witnesses of second-century patristic writings and of Jewish and Greco-Roman inscriptions, literature and archeological finds. For first-century Christian evidence it will be almost altogether dependent upon the New Testament documents and upon the non-canonical *Didache*,⁶² I Clement⁶³ and perhaps one or two other pieces. The New Testament authorship attributions place the thirteen letters of Paul and the two letters of Peter between c. AD 50 (Galatians or I Thessalonians)⁶⁴ and AD 68, the latest date of their martyrdom,⁶⁵ and the letter of James before his martyrdom in c. AD 62.⁶⁶ A historical objection to an

⁶² J. P. Audet, *La Didaché*, Paris 1958, 219, dates the work to AD 50–70. Following him, J. A. T. Robinson, (*Redating* [note 311, 322–327 = GT: 332–338] suggests AD 40–60; R. Knopf (*Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel; Die zwei Clemensbriefe* [Tübingen 1920], 3) estimates AD 90–150.

⁶³ Lightfoot, *Fathers* (note 21), I, i, 342, 346–358, finding a second (Domitianic) persecution in I Clement 7 (351) and placing the letters in the time of Clement's bishopric, dates it to c. AD 95. More persuasive are the arguments of G. Edmundson (*The Church in Rome in the First Century* [London 1913], 188–202) and of Robinson ([note 61], 327–335), who date I Clement to AD 70.

⁶⁴ In my view Galatians was written c. AD 49–50, just prior to the Council of Jerusalem (Acts 15), and Gal 2:1–10 concerns the Famine Visit (Acts 11:28ff.). Unlike Acts 15, both Gal 2 and Acts 11 depict (1) Paul's second visit to Jerusalem, (2) made in response to a revelation (3) involving a private meeting and (4) related to offerings for the poor (Gal 2:10). Cf. Longenecker, *Galatians* (note 36), lxxiv, lxxx–lxxxviii; D. Guthrie, *New Testament Introduction*, Leicester UK ²1990, 477–480; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 255–260. See above, note 36.

⁶⁵ Cf. II Tim 1:17; 4:6ff.; I Clement 5:3f., 7; Ascension of Isaiah 4:2f.; Acts of Peter (Verc.) 35–40; Acts of Paul 11, 3ff.; Dionysius *apud* Eusebius *HE* 2, 25, 8. Their martyrdom was traditionally dated in the fourteenth year of Nero, i.e. AD 67. Cf. Jerome, *de viris illis*. 12. Cf. Ellis, 'Pastoral Letters' (note 45), 661f.

⁶⁶ Josephus, *Ant.* 20, 200; Hegesippus *apud* Eusebius *HE* 2, 23, 4–18; Clement,

early date for II Peter has been its reference (3:15f.) to a collection of 'all [Paul's] letters' on a par with 'the other Scriptures.' It was answered by Theodor Zahn's argument that the reference is not to a collection and that *γραφαί* is not used in a technical canonical sense.⁶⁷ However, Paul instructed leaders of his congregations to exchange his letters and to read them in church,⁶⁸ and he regarded his written teaching as 'Word of God.'⁶⁹ The reading in church is significant in the light of the Apostle's Jewish background in which only canonical Scripture could be *read* in synagogue.⁷⁰ It confirms that Paul's letters were written and were received from the first as a prophetic word from God and that collections of them, either from his retained copies or from exchanges between churches, were probably made during his ministry, for example, at Ephesus, Corinth, Caesarea and Rome.⁷¹

Outlines 7 apud Eusebius *HE* 2, 1, 4f.; cf. F. F. Bruce, *New Testament History*, London 1969, 373ff. Jas 1:1 almost certainly refers to James of Jerusalem, for 'in primitive Christianity there was only one James who was well known.' (W. G. Kümmel, *Introduction to the New Testament* [Nashville 1975], 412).

⁶⁷ Zahn (note 31), II, 274–279, 221–293, 264, 275 = GT: II, 98–101, 62–112, 91, 99, concludes that II Peter was written c. AD 60 probably to Jewish Christians 'in Palestine or neighboring regions' (264). Apart from a (just) possible fragment of II Pet 1:15 at Qumran, 7Q10 (cf. J. O'Callaghan, 'Tres probables papiros neotestamentarios in la cueva 7 de Qumran,' *Studia Papyrologica* 11 [1972], 83–89, cited in C. P. Theide, *The Earliest Gospel Manuscript?* [Carlisle UK 1992], 47), a possible allusion to II Pet 3:15 in Polycarp, *ad Phil.* 3:2 (σοφία Παύλου), and a possible reference in the Muratorian Canon, under the title, Apocalypse of Peter (cf. D. J. Theron, *Evidence of Tradition* [Grand Rapids 1958], 113), II Peter is witnessed by Origen (Homily on Joshua 7:1, cited in B. F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* [London 1881], 362; cf. Origen, *de princ.* 2, 5, 3 [Latin]; Eusebius *HE* 6, 25, 8). The rejection by Eusebius, *HE* 3, 3, 1, probably reflects his anti-millenarian bias (cf. II Pet 3:13). Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 301f.

⁶⁸ Col 4:16; cf. I Thess 5:27. The same applied to circular letters (Ephesians) or to those sent to multiple congregations (cf. II Cor 1:1, Achaia; Gal 1:2).

⁶⁹ Cf. I Thess 2:13 with II Thess 2:15; cf. I Cor 14:37.

⁷⁰ Cf. P. S. Alexander, 'Jewish Aramaic Translations of Hebrew Scriptures,' *Mikra (Compendia II, 1)*, ed. M. J. Mulder, Leiden 1988, 238; Ellis, *Theology* (note 44), 137f.

⁷¹ The author's retention of a copy of a letter was the common practice in antiquity, even for personal correspondence, both for subsequent reference and because of the danger of loss in transit. Paul would have retained a copy of epistles to his churches and to co-workers although he seldom refers to previous correspondence (cf. I Cor 5:9f.; II Cor 7:8). Cf. Cicero, *To Friends* 7, 25, 1; 9, 26, 1; Richards, *Secretary* (note 49), 6f., 165n. On the collection of Paul's letters by his congregations cf. K. Aland, 'Neutestamentliche Textkritik und Exegese,' *Wissenschaft und Kirche. FS Eduard Lohse*, edd. K. Aland and S. Meurer, Bielefeld 1989, 142; more exclusively and speculatively, Murphy-O'Connor (note 49), 114–130; D. Trobisch, *Die Entstehung der Paulusbriefsammlung*, Göttingen 1989, 119–132. See below, note 159. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 296f., 430.

The titles of all the Gospels were added 'around AD 100' (Reicke)⁷² and, in accordance with Greco-Roman custom, Luke's name was tagged to his work when it was catalogued by his patron Theophilus.⁷³ They probably designate the man responsible for the composition but do not exclude either the assistance of secretaries and others or the use of preformed traditions which, of course, make up the bulk of the Synoptic Gospels. The indicated authorships, supported by second-century witnesses,⁷⁴ date the Gospels approximately to the latter half of the first century.⁷⁵ To date them and other New Testament documents more precisely, one must turn (1) to external events in the Roman world and (2) to the witness of the second-century church.

The Roman World

Among the most significant historical events bearing upon the dating of New Testament books are the attempt in AD 40 to place the statue of the Emperor Gaius (= Caligula) in the Jerusalem temple,⁷⁶ the Neronian persecution of Christians in AD 65–68⁷⁷ and the destruction

⁷² M. Hengel, *Studies in the Gospel of Mark*, London 1985, 64–84; B. Reicke, *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels*, Philadelphia 1986, 150–155, 150.

⁷³ Cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 4, 4b, 1; 4, 5, end; 4, 8a, 2; E. S. Schuckburgh, *The Letters of Cicero*, 4 vols., London 1920, I, 224, 226, 235 (Letters 106f., 111); R. F. Strout, 'The Development of the Catalog and Cataloging Codes,' *The Library Quarterly* 26 (1956), 254–275, 257: 'It may be that the most significant contribution which the Greeks made to cataloging was the use of the author of a work for its entry.' '... [In] the Orient the traditional entry for a book is its title.' According to tradition Crates, first head of the library at Pergamum and envoy to Rome (c. 168 BC), stimulated Roman interest in scholarship and may, therefore, have introduced Greek 'cataloging methods.' Further, cf. Suetonius, *de grammaticis* 2; P. B. R. Forbes, 'Crates,' *OCD*² (1970) 296f.; E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*. Revised Edition, Grand Rapids 1996 (1974), 64ff. On Theophilus as dedicatee and probable patron cf. L. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke's Gospel*, Cambridge 1993, 187–191.

⁷⁴ E.g. Papias *apud* Eusebius *HE* 3, 39, 15f.; Irenaeus, *Against Heresies* 3, 1, 1. 'No other authors or redactors of the canonical Gospels have been quoted in the traditions of the old church' (Reicke [note 72], 150).

⁷⁵ Some scholars date the Synoptics in the fifth decade of the century, e.g. J. W. Wenham, *Redating Matthew, Mark and Luke*, London 1991, 238f. (Matthew, c. 42; Mark, c. 45; Luke, c. 50–55); C. C. Torrey, *Documents of the Primitive Church*, New York 1941, 92 (Matthew, c. 50; Mark, c. 40): There is not 'even one passage from any of the Four Gospels giving clear evidence of a date later than fifty A.D. or of origin outside Palestine' (91). Before F. C. Baur's reconstruction such early dating was common.

⁷⁶ Philo, *Legatio ad Gaium* 200–207, 346; Josephus, *Ant.* 18, 300–309. Cf. Bruce, *History* (note 66), 253–257.

⁷⁷ I Clement 5–7; Tacitus, *Annals* 15, 44; Suetonius, *Nero* 38; Pliny, *Natural History*

of Jerusalem in AD 70.⁷⁸ The warning phrase at Mt 24:15 = Mk 13:14, 'let the reader [in worship] understand,' was probably occasioned by Caligula's action, as Gerd Theissen argued.⁷⁹ It is instructive for a number of questions on the formation of the Gospel traditions, specifically, their written and controlled transmission and the expository (midrashic) form of a good number of them.

The phrase itself reflects a type of saying which, in the words of David Daube,⁸⁰ 'is employed by the Rabbis preferably where the deeper meaning in question is of a secret, dangerous character. . . .' In the Gospel traditions it occurs in Jesus' eschatological discourse, which originated as a dominical commentary, i.e. midrash on biblical passages, especially from the book of Daniel.⁸¹ It is related specifically to the Lord's prophecy of an 'abomination of desolation' (Mt 24:15) that Luke (21:20–24), writing in the diaspora, clearly interprets as a prediction of Jerusalem's destruction. That is, the phrase appears to be a necessary warning to congregational readers of this Jesus-tradition in Christian synagogues in Palestine that their wrong interpretation, relating the prophecy to Caligula's action, or their open application of it to a future destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans could risk a reprisal by the Roman authorities or by nationalist Jews.

The Sabbath reading of the Scriptures in Jewish synagogues is attested in the first century⁸² and in all likelihood continued in Christian assemblies when they separated from the synagogue.⁸³ The reading of apostolic letters in the Christian synagogues is also

17:5. Cf. Edmundson, *Church* (note 63), 123–144; P. Lampe, *Die stadtrömischen Christen in den ersten beiden Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen ²1989, 65ff. An attack on Christians by Domitian in c. AD 95 is mentioned by Tertullian (*Apology* 5, 4; c. AD 197), but it apparently involved primarily Christian relatives of Domitian. Cf. Bruce, *History* (note 66), 412ff.; Edmundson, *Church* (note 63), 222–226.

⁷⁸ Josephus, *War* 6, 220–442; 7, 1–4; Tacitus, *Histories* 5, 9–13; Fragments 1–3 (Loeb); Cassius Dio, *History* 65, 4–7; Suetonius, *Vespasian* 4, 5f., *Titus* 5, 2. Cf. J. J. Price, *Jerusalem Under Siege*, Leiden 1992, 162–193.

⁷⁹ G. Theissen, *The Gospels in Context*, Minneapolis 1991, 159–165 = GT: *Lokalkolorit*, 169–176; cf. B. W. Bacon, *The Gospel of Mark*, New Haven CT 1925, 62ff.

⁸⁰ D. Daube, *The New Testament and Rabbinic Judaism*, Peabody MA ²1994 (1956), 427.

⁸¹ Rightly, L. Hartman, *Prophecy Interpreted*, Lund 1966.

⁸² Lk 4:16–20; Acts 13:15, 27; 15:21; II Cor 3:14f.; cf. I Tim 4:13. Cf. C. Perrot, 'The Reading of the Bible in the Ancient Synagogue,' *Mikra* (note 70), 137–159.

⁸³ It is probably to be inferred at II Cor 3:16; cf. I Tim 4:13. Cf. L. Morris, 'The Saints and the Synagogue,' in Wilkins, *Worship* (note 17), 47f.; C. W. Dugmore, *The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office*, London ²1964, 7f.

indicated and is sometimes commanded.⁸⁴ How much more would the reading of Jesus-traditions there be expected, and it is doubtless the setting in which 'the reader' at Mt 24:15 = Mk 13:14 is cautioned since the private ownership and reading of Christian texts was a rare privilege at this early period.⁸⁵

If these observations are correct, by AD 40 such Jesus-traditions, formulated in written episodes, were being used alongside Old Testament readings in Christian synagogues of the Jacobean and Petrine missions. In all likelihood they were formulated in the 30s by apostles in Jerusalem,⁸⁶ as Birger Gerhardsson has argued,⁸⁷ and if his rabbinic analogy has needed to be qualified in order to give due recognition to the prophetic character of the apostolic traditioners,⁸⁸ his emphasis upon a cultivated and ordered transmission of the Gospel traditions by the apostolic leadership has been fully confirmed by developments in form criticism over the past four decades.⁸⁹

As an Old Testament exposition (see note 81), Mt 24 = Mk 13 follows the form of other transmitted Jesus-traditions, a number of

⁸⁴ See below, 237 and note 133; cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 353.

⁸⁵ The Old Testament, or parts of it, were more accessible for private use. Cf. Acts 8:28; II Tim 3:15; perhaps Acts 17:11; cf. A. Harnack, *Über den Privaten Gebrauch der heiligen Schriften in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig 1912, 19–33.

⁸⁶ The uniformity of the Synoptic narrative traditions, at any rate, points to their formulation by one group or by closely related groups. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 310–333; idem, *Documents* (note 9), 333–356; Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 180f. Traditions or perhaps, as e.g. T. Zahn and C. F. Burney argued, proto-Gospels in Aramaic were written for a particular sector of Jewish Christian congregations and had little or no chronological priority to Greek Gospel traditions. Cf. T. Zahn, *Das Evangelium des Matthäus*, Wuppertal 1984 (41922), 20–32; Burney (note 47), 126–152, *passim*.

⁸⁷ B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, Grand Rapids 1998, 208–261; idem, *The Origins of the Gospel Traditions*, Philadelphia 1979, 25–91 = GT: 20–64.

⁸⁸ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Gospels Criticism; A Perspective on the State of the Art,' *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher, Grand Rapids 1991, 50ff. = GT: 52ff.

⁸⁹ Cf. Ellis, 'Gospels' (note 88), 41–52 = GT: 43–54; idem, *Prophecy* (note 24), 237–253; idem, 'Narratives' (note 86), 310–333; R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer*, Tübingen 1988; Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 47–67; Gerhardsson, *Gospel* (note 41), 11–25, 32–57; H. Schürmann, 'Die vorösterlichen Anfänge der Logientradition,' *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Düsseldorf 1968, 39–65; idem, *Jesus*, Paderborn 1993, 380–397; J. W. Doeve, *Jewish Hermeneutics in the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Assen 1954. E. Güttgemanns (*Candid Questions Concerning Gospel Form Criticism* [Pittsburgh PA 1979], 177–285 = GT: 119–183) critiques the classical form criticism from a somewhat different perspective. Others, more accepting of it in certain respects, are not without criticisms. Cf. W. Schmithals, *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, Berlin 1985, 298–318; K. Berger, *Formgeschichte des Neuen Testaments*, Heidelberg 1984, 10–16, *passim*.

which are similar to the proem and *yelammedenu* midrash patterns⁹⁰ found in rabbinic writings.⁹¹ Such midrashim lie at the bedrock of the Gospel tradition and represent, in summary form, the messianic-eschatological biblical expositions that characterized much of Jesus' teaching, both in synagogues and elsewhere. These dominical expositions were sometimes utilized by the Apostle Paul.⁹² At times they employed a parable to expound the Old Testament texts,⁹³ and it appears that some of these expositions were subsequently disassembled in transmission, resulting in the independent and clustered parables and in the 'testimonia' texts in our present Synoptic Gospels. Such is the parable of the Great Supper in Mt 22:1–10 where the reference to burning (ἐνέπρησεν, 22:7) the city is probably an allusion to Jer 52:13 and to the 586 BC judgment on Jerusalem.⁹⁴ This text and the eschatological discourse (Mt 24 parr) have been taken to be *vaticinia ex eventu* and to indicate a post-AD 70 origin of the Synoptic Gospels. But this interpretation was undermined and, in my judgment, discredited by the investigations of C. H. Dodd and B. Reicke.

Dodd demonstrated that the prophecies at Lk 19:42–44 and 21:20–24 are 'composed *entirely* from the language of the Old Testament, [and] the conception . . . is a generalized picture of the fall of Jerusalem [in 586 BC] as imaginatively presented by the prophets.'⁹⁵ In justification for this conclusion he specified, among other Septuagintal texts, the following parallels:

⁹⁰ E.g. Mt 11:7–15 Q; 12:1–8 T + Q; 15:1–9 par; 19:3–9 par; 21:33–46 T + Q; Lk 10:25–37. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 96–100. T + Q = a triple tradition episode where Matthean and Lukan agreements against Mark point to their use (also) of a Q tradition.

⁹¹ Most elaborately summarized in *Pesikta Rabbati* (2 vols., ed. W. G. Braude [New Haven CT 1968], 3ff, *passim*), sermons of Palestinian rabbis of c. AD 200–400. At least one proem form has been dated to before AD 70 by J. Mann, *The Bible as Read and Preached in the Old Synagogue I*, New York 1971 (1940), 105.

⁹² See above, 31–37.

⁹³ E.g. the Wicked Tenants (Mt 21:33–46) and the Good Samaritan (Lk 10:25–37).

⁹⁴ The New Testament hapax, ἐνέπρησεν, appears in Jer 52:13, and the parable is similar to another found in a dominical exposition, warning of judgment on the religious authorities who have rejected Jesus' message. See Mt 21:33–46. Cf. also Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 174–180.

⁹⁵ C. H. Dodd, 'The Fall of Jerusalem and the "Abomination of Desolation,"' *More New Testament Studies*, Manchester UK 1968, 69–83, 79 = *JRS* 37 (1947), 47–54, 52.

Lk 19:43f.; cf. Mk 13:17

- 43 [Jerusalem], your enemies will throw a palisade (χάρακα) around you and surround (περικυκλώσουσιν) you and will besiege you all round (συνέξουσιν πάντοθεν).

IV Kgdm 6:14

...[the Syrians] surrounded (περικύκλωσιν) the city [of Dothan].

IV Kgdm 25:1; cf. Ezek 4:2

Nebuchadnezzar... built around Jerusalem] a rampart (περίτειχος κύκλω).

Jer 52:4f.; cf. Ezek 4:1-3

... and he and all his forces... palisaded (περιεχαράκωσαν) it... So the city went under siege (εἰς συνοχήν).

Hos 10:14; cf. Ps 136(137):9; Isa 3:25f.; Nah 3:10

- 44 And they will dash you to the ground, you and your children within you (ἔδαφιοῦσίν σε καὶ τὰ τέκνα σου ἐν σοί)...;

[Samaria], as in the days of battle [with Solomon] they dashed to the ground mother upon children (μητέρα ἐπὶ τέκνοις ἠδάφισαν), so I will do to you...

Jer 6:15; cf. 10:15

because you did not know the time of your visitation (καιρὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς σου)

In the time of visitation (καιρῷ ἐπισκοπῆς) they will perish.

Lk 21:20-24

- 20 When you see Jerusalem surrounded by armies (κυκλουμένην ὑπὸ στρατοπέδων) know that its desolation (ἐρήμωσις) is near.

Jer 41:1 = MT: 34:1

... and all his army (στρατόπεδον) was warring against Jerusalem.

Jer 4:7; cf. 7:34; 22:5

Jerusalem... [an enemy] has come out to make the land into a desolation (εἰς ἐρήμωσιν)

Jer 51:6 = MT: 44:6; cf. Isa 64:10f.

And [Judah and Jerusalem] became a desolation (ἐρήμωσιν).

Jer 6:1

- 21 Let those in Judea flee (φευγέτωσαν) . . . and those in the midst (ἐν μέσῳ) of [Jerusalem] depart (ἐκχωρείτωσαν) . . .

Be strong to flee . . . from the midst (ἐνισχύσατε . . . ἐκ μέσου) of Jerusalem.

Num 16:45

Depart from the midst (ἐκχωρήσατε ἐκ μέσου) of this congregation that I may destroy them at once.

Hosea 9:7

- 22 Because these are days of vengeance (ἡμέραι ἐκδικήσεως) . . .

[Israel], the days of vengeance (ἡμέραι τῆς ἐκδικήσεως) have come

Zeph 1:14f.

- 23 Great distress (ἀνάγκη μεγάλη) upon the land and wrath (ὀργή) to this people.

The great day of the Lord (ἡμέρα κυρίου ἡ μεγάλη) is near, [Jerusalem], . . . a mighty day of wrath . . . and distress (δυνατὴ ἡμέρα ὀργῆς . . . καὶ ἀνάγκης).

Jer 20:4ff.; cf. Amos 5:5

- 24 And they shall fall by the mouth of the sword (πεσοῦνται στόματι μαχαίρης) and be led captive (αἰχμαλωτισθήσονται)

And they shall fall by the sword (πεσοῦνται ἐν μαχαίρᾳ) . . . and you will go in captivity (αἰχμαλωσία).

Deut 28:64

into all nations (εἰς τὰ ἔθνη πάντα).

. . . God will scatter you into all the nations (εἰς πάντα τὰ ἔθνη).

Zech 12:3

And Jerusalem shall be trodden down by the Gentiles (πατουμένη ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν)

Jerusalem shall be a trodden stone to all the Gentiles (λίθον καταπατούμενον πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν)

Dan 9:26f. LXX

until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled (πληρωθῶσιν καιροὶ ἐθνῶν).

The kingdom of the Gentiles (βασιλεία ἐθνῶν) will destroy the city [Jerusalem] . . . to the consummation of the times (κατὰ συντέλειαν καιρῶν) . . . , until the time of consummation of war, and the desolation (ἐρήμωσις) shall be removed. . . .

He also noted that some calamities mentioned in Luke did not occur in the AD 70 destruction⁹⁶ and that some items prominent in AD 66–70 are not present in Luke.⁹⁷ Indeed, the command to ‘flee to the mountains’ (Lk 21:21 parr) was not followed by the Jerusalem Christians, who in c. AD 66 fled to the Jordan valley and thence to Pella.⁹⁸ Dodd’s observations on Luke also apply *mutatis mutandis* to Matthew and Mark.

The historian of early Christianity, Bo Reicke, in an analysis independent of Dodd,⁹⁹ came to similar conclusions. He showed that Lk 19:43f ‘is based on Old Testament descriptions’ that ‘Jesus was familiar with . . . although the prediction . . . was possibly . . . colored by different tradents and eventually fixed by the evangelists . . .’ In the passage ‘the destruction is expressly said to be caused by the “enemies” of the Jews.’ This could hardly refer to the Romans since in Luke-Acts ‘there is no description of the Romans as enemies.’ They are, rather, ‘always depicted as . . . people who treated the Jews and the disciples [correctly]’ (122), a description that ‘was no longer possible’ after AD 66 (123). Equally, Reicke writes, in the parable at Mt 22:7 ‘God was alluded to in the person of the king who sent his armies’ and burned the city. ‘It is most unlikely that Matthew [made] such a leap of thought from God to [the Roman emperor] that he actually had the siege of Jerusalem in mind . . .’ (123). The Synoptic descriptions in the eschatological discourse, although ‘probably based on sayings of Jesus’ (133), were elaborated in the light of experiences in the early church from the 30s to the 50s¹⁰⁰ but none of the descriptions ‘indicate any knowledge of the first Jewish war and its results’ (133). The dating of the Synoptics after the year 70 because they contain prophecies of the destruction of Jerusalem represents, in Reicke’s considered judgment, ‘an amazing example of uncritical dogmatism in New Testament studies.’¹⁰¹

⁹⁶ E.g. ‘dash your children to the ground’ (Lk 19:44; cf. Hos 10:14f.).

⁹⁷ E.g. factional fighting, famine, cannibalism, fire. Cf. Josephus, *War* 4, 305–365; 5, 424–438; 6, 164ff.; 6, 193–213.

⁹⁸ Cf. Eusebius *HE* 3, 5, 2f.; Epiphanius, *Panarion* 29, 7, 7f.; 30, 2, 7; idem, *Weights and Measures* 15:2–5. Cf. Ellis, *Documents* (note 9) 25f., 284f.; C. Koester, ‘. . . The Flight to Pella Tradition,’ *CBQ* 51 (1989), 90–106; Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 137f.

⁹⁹ Reicke, ‘Prophecies’ (note 31), 121–134, does not mention Dodd and argues largely from different Old Testament texts.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. false Messiahs, rumors of wars, famines and earthquakes, persecutions; cf. Reicke, ‘Prophecies’ (note 31), 130–134.

¹⁰¹ Reicke, ‘Prophecies’ (note 31), 121. In *The Roots of the Synoptic Gospels* (note 72), 131–139, 174–180, Reicke summarizes and supplements the arguments of his earlier article.

The Synoptic Gospels display no knowledge of the events of AD 70. In addition, both the warning 'let the reader understand' in Mt 24:15; Mk 13:14, which would have been redundant after AD 66, and the attention given to Jesus' prophecies against Jerusalem, which are most prominent in Luke,¹⁰² are inexplicable in the post-70 situation when 'Jerusalem ceased to be the directing center of the Christian mission.'¹⁰³ One can probably look at the Gospel of John, where the name Jerusalem does not even occur in the latter half of the book, or certainly at the letter of Barnabas, which duly mentions the destruction, to discover how a post-70 Christian writing deals with the fate of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁴ Since both Matthew and Luke-Acts note subsequent developments relating to earlier events or prophecies,¹⁰⁵ the failure even to hint at the fulfilment of Jesus' prophecies about Jerusalem is, like the dog that did not bark in the tale of Sherlock Holmes,¹⁰⁶ a telling argument from silence that the Synoptic Gospels were written before AD 70.¹⁰⁷

The same logic applies to the book of Acts with its emphasis on the importance of Jerusalem¹⁰⁸ and on Jewish priority in the history of salvation¹⁰⁹ and with its lack of any clear reference to the deaths of its most significant apostolic actors – Paul, Peter and James of Jerusalem, all of whom were martyred in the mid-sixties.¹¹⁰ It also raises questions about the hypotheses of W. A. Strange¹¹¹ and M. É.

¹⁰² E.g. Lk 11:49ff.; 13:1–9, 34f.; 19:41–44; 21:20–24; cf. 20:16; Acts 6:14.

¹⁰³ W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church*, Oxford 1965, 171.

¹⁰⁴ Barnabas 16:1–5. Cf. Ellis, 'Dating' (note 1), 488f. John 11:48 may allude to what in fact had occurred.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. Mt 27:8; Acts 11:28.

¹⁰⁶ The story is *Silver Blaze*.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. R. H. Gundry, *Matthew*, Grand Rapids 1994, 599–609; idem, *Mark*, Grand Rapids 1993, 1026–1043; Ellis, *Luke* (note 73), 57–60; Robinson, *Redating* (note 31), 86–117 = GT: 95–126; H. J. Schulz, *Die apostolische Herkunft der Evangelien*, Freiburg 1995. Otherwise: cf. Kümmel (note 66), *passim*.

¹⁰⁸ In the focus of Acts 1–12, in the repeated connection of Paul with Jerusalem and in the sheer number of (about 60) references to the city.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Acts 13:46; 18:6; 19:8ff.; 20:21; 28:25–28; J. Jervell, *Luke and the People of God*, Minneapolis 1972, 63: At Acts 28 'the Gentile mission is really only beginning.'

¹¹⁰ On balance, the data point to AD 63–66 for the publication of Acts. Cf. E. E. Ellis, "'The End of the Earth' (Acts 1:8)," *BBR* 1 (1991), 130ff. = GT: *Der Treue Gottes trauen*. FS G. Schneider, ed. C. Bussman, Freiburg 1991, 283ff. (changing the assessment given in Ellis, *Luke* [note 73], 57–60); C. Hemer, *The Book of Acts in the Setting of Hellenistic History*, Tübingen 1989, 365–410 (AD 62); Harnack, *Date* (note 31), 90–93 (AD 62).

¹¹¹ W. A. Strange, *The Problem of the Text of Acts*, Cambridge 1992, 182–189: The

Boismard¹¹² that one or both of the major textual traditions of Acts, the 'Western' and the 'Alexandrian,' were composed or 'completed' long after AD 70 (1) since despite numerous textual variants neither tradition has any clear post-70 *historical* references or allusions¹¹³ and (2) since the incompleteness and roughness of Acts is characteristic of the present text(s) and cannot, therefore, be referred to an antecedent hypothetical text or draft or have occasioned a need to complete it.

The Patristic Evidence

The second-century witnesses, Papias, Irenaeus and Clement of Alexandria, support the internal evidence for the origin of the Gospels for their pre-70 dating.¹¹⁴ Whether Irenaeus' reference to Peter's 'departure' (ἐξοδος) from Rome refers to further ministry or, against his usage elsewhere, to the Apostle's death, he speaks only of a subsequent transmission (παραδιδόναι) of Mark's Gospel to Rome and not of its composition there. Irenaeus is commonly misread on this matter.¹¹⁵ These writers also place the publication of the Gospel of John subsequent to that of the Synoptic Gospels.¹¹⁶

'Western and non-Western texts represent versions of a text left unedited by Luke.' 'The roughness of the common text . . . [and other] textual evidence of Acts [suggest] that two editors worked on Luke's literary remains to present this book for publication, probably at some point in the third quarter of the second century' (186). But see J. H. Ropes, 'The Text of Acts,' *BC* III, ccxl: For 'the "Western" rewriting of Acts . . . an early date in the [first half of the second century] is probable . . .'

¹¹² M. É. Boismard et A. Lamouille, *Le texte occidental des Actes des Apôtres*, 2 vols., Paris 1984, I, 9, 95: Luke composed an original 'Western' text (TO) and a number of years later reworked it (T⁰); these two texts were fused to create the 'Alexandrian' text (TA). Cf. M. É. Boismard, 'The Text of Acts,' *New Testament Textual Criticism. FS B. M. Metzger*, Oxford 1981, 147-157, 153; F. F. Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Grand Rapids 1990, 69-76. For a survey of the research cf. Strange, *Problem* (note 111), 1-34; Boismard, 3-10.

¹¹³ For an index of variations between the 'Western' and 'Alexandrian' texts cf. Boismard, *Texte* (note 112), II, 1-194. For a number of 'Western' alterations, cf. E. J. Epp, *The Theological Tendency of Codex Bezae Cantabrigiensis in Acts*, Cambridge 1966, 41-164; C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts*, Oxford 1951, 54-82; Ropes, 'Text' (note 111), III, ccxv-ccxlv.

¹¹⁴ I.e. re Mark, Papias *apud* Eusebius, *HE* 3, 39, 15f. (probably); re the Synoptics, Clement, *Outlines apud* Eusebius, *HE* 6, 14, 5ff.; Irenaeus, *AH* 3, 1, 1; cf. 5, 8, 2ff. Cf. Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 155-174.

¹¹⁵ On the question cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Date and Provenance of Mark's Gospel' in Van Segbroeck (note 60), II, 801-815, 803-807; Gundry, *Mark* (note 107), 1026-1043; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 360-366.

¹¹⁶ I.e. Irenaeus, *AH* 3, 1, 1; Clement, *Outlines apud* Eusebius, *HE* 6, 14, 5-7.

Silence about the destruction of Jerusalem is also suggestive, as John Robinson has argued,¹¹⁷ of a pre-70 date for other New Testament books where God's judgment on disobedience (II Peter, Jude)¹¹⁸ or a critique of the temple or its transitory character (Hebrews) is of interest to the writer.¹¹⁹ While the matter is disputed, this period, specifically the Neronian persecution of AD 65–68 and its aftermath, also offers the best historical place for the book of Revelation.¹²⁰

In conclusion, there are strong arguments for dating the composition of the New Testament writings, with the exception of the Gospel and letters of John,¹²¹ during the first Christian generation, say, about AD 50–70 or, if the letter of James is still earlier,¹²² about AD 40–70. They arise from (1) early patristic evidence and (2) an internal criticism of the documents that (3) includes the common character of the false teachers opposed in them, gnosticizing Judaizers who combine ritual observance with immoral conduct. For example, the licentious deniers of a parousia judgment in II Peter and Jude are not very far removed in time or teaching from the licentious deniers of a parousia resurrection in I–II Corinthians.¹²³ Supporting arguments also include the testimony of relatively early and reliable patristic witnesses. Such evidence provides the groundwork on which a history of early Christianity may be constructed.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Robinson, *Redating* (note 31), 140–253 = GT: 149–264.

¹¹⁸ Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 233ff.; idem, *Documents* (note 9), 318f.

¹¹⁹ Cf. W. L. Lane, *Hebrews*, 2 vols., Dallas 1991, I, lx–lxvi; F. F. Bruce, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, Grand Rapids 1964, xliiff. Otherwise: H. W. Attridge, *Hebrews*, Minneapolis 1989, 9 (AD 60–100).

¹²⁰ So, Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 210–219; M. Hengel, *The Johannine Question*, London 1989, 126f. (tentatively); Robinson, *Redating* (note 31), 221–253 = GT: 232–264; F. J. A. Hort, *The Apocalypse of St. John I–III*, London 1908, xiv–xxxiii; Lightfoot, *Fathers* (note 21), II, i, 438, 468f. Otherwise: C. Hemer, *The Letters to the Seven Churches in Asia*, Sheffield UK 1986, 2–5; T. Zahn, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes*, Wuppertal 1986 (1926), 49–54; W. Bousset, *Offenbarung Johannis*, Göttingen 1906, 131–148.

¹²¹ Apparently John and his mission moved their base from Palestine to Asia Minor about AD 65, and his Gospel (in its present form) and letters were published there. Cf. Hengel, *Question* (note 120), 124–135; Lightfoot, *Fathers* (note 21), II, i, 438; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 234–237, 402n.

¹²² So, J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of St. James*, London 1892, cxix–cli; Guthrie, *Introduction* (note 64), 749–753.

¹²³ I Cor 5:1–8; 15:12, 22f.; II Cor 12:21; II Pet 2:4–22; 3:3–13; Jude 7f., 14ff. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 101–115, 231f.; idem, *New Testament Documents* (note 9), 130ff.; cf. 314–318.

THE ORIGIN AND AUTHORITY OF THE
NEW TESTAMENT DOCUMENTS

The content, authorship attributions and titles of the books, together with the second-century evidence, make it probable that our New Testament is the product of four apostolic missions:

<i>Jacobean,</i>	<i>Johannine,</i>	<i>Pauline and</i>	<i>Petrine.</i>
Matthew	John	Luke-Acts	Mark
James	I-III John	Romans	I-II Peter
Jude	Revelation	I-II Corinthians	
		Galatians	
		Ephesians	
		Philippians	
		Colossians	
		I-II Thessalonians	
		I-II Timothy	
		Titus	
		Philemon	
		Hebrews	

The leaders of the missions appear in Gal 2 and in the book of Acts as cooperating and allied apostles commissioned by Jesus Christ¹²⁴ who, nevertheless, carried out their own distinctive missions. Two of them, Peter and John, very likely participated in the initial formulation of Jesus-traditions. The four missions shared traditions of various kinds, as the Gospels and New Testament letters give ample evidence. They not only made use of common Gospel traditions but also had a generally agreed framework for teaching the word and work of Jesus to their respective congregations.¹²⁵ In their letters also they shared such traditions as Old Testament expositions (midrashim), confessions, hymns, household and congregational rules although the

¹²⁴ Gal 2:9; 1 Cor 15:3-8; Acts 3:1; 4:13; 8:14; 12:17; 15:7, 12f.; 21:17-26. Cf. Ellis, 'Gospels' (note 88), 45-54; Clement, *Stomata* 1, 1, 11: 'the tradition... from Peter, James, John and Paul'; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 32-47.

¹²⁵ Cf. Reicke, *Roots* (note 72), 180-189: It is not coincidental that (sometimes with prologues) the Gospels all begin with the baptism, point to the passion and conclude with the resurrection of Jesus. It 'cannot be explained only by those collective traditions... The answer... [also] is found in various personal contacts between the traditionists and the evangelists' (181).

mutual use of them by different apostolic missions can be better demonstrated in some instances than in others.¹²⁶

Each mission produced its own Gospel, initially for its own congregations: Matthew in Palestine—probably in Jerusalem—for the Jacobean mission to ritually strict Jewish Christians and Mark in Caesarea for mixed Jewish, Greek and Roman congregations in the Petrine mission.¹²⁷ Luke, in preparing his Gospel for the Pauline churches, utilized Mark and traditions in common with Matthew (Q) and with John as well as special traditions of the Jerusalem church (e.g. Lk 1:5–2:40; 24:1–53). He would have had all these materials available to him during one period and apparently one period only, that is, while he was in Palestine during Paul's Caesarean imprisonment (Acts 23:23–27:2; c. AD 58–60).¹²⁸ Thus the author of Luke-Acts provides the best key to the relationship of the Gospels and of their traditions. John also produced Gospel traditions and perhaps a proto-Gospel initially in pre-70 Palestine for congregations largely formed, it seems, from converts from the Jewish Essenes.¹²⁹ But if one accepts the patristic evidence, he published his Gospel as we know it in Asia Minor during the last decades of the first century.¹³⁰

If the New Testament documents were initially composed within the first Christian generation by leaders of four apostolic missions, did they have essentially the same content as our present critical Greek New Testament? The answer largely depends upon the textual integrity and stability of the documents and of their transmission and, perhaps even more, upon the authority with which they were initially received that would ensure their careful transmission.

As has been argued above,¹³¹ the particular Gospel traditions and the apostolic and prophetic epistles of each of the four allied missions were read in church alongside Old Testament readings from

¹²⁶ Cf. Ellis, *New Testament Documents* (note 9), 310–314.

¹²⁷ Cf. Ellis, 'Mark's Gospel' (note 115); idem, *Documents* (note 9), 368–376.

¹²⁸ Whether he spent the whole two years in the area or not. On Luke's geographical knowledge cf. M. Hengel, *Between Jesus and Paul*, London 1983, 126f.; Ellis, *Luke* (note 73), 24–29, 67, 271; Acts 21:17; 27:1 ('we'); idem (note 9), 140f., 251–254.

¹²⁹ Cf. J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *John and Qumran*, London 1972, 7f., 105; J. A. T. Robinson, *The Priority of John*, London 1985, 38–41; S. S. Smalley, *John, Evangelist and Interpreter*, Nashville ³1984, 30–34, 65ff.

¹³⁰ Irenaeus *AH* 3, 1, 1; Clement Al. *apud* Eusebius *HE* 6, 14, 7; cf. 3, 1, 1. Cf. Ellis, *New Testament Documents* (note 9), 234–237. D. A. Carson, *John*, Grand Rapids 1991, 82–87. Otherwise: Robinson, *Redating* (note 31), 254–311. Cf Schlatter, 'Sprache' (note 47), 28–35.

¹³¹ See above, 225ff.; notes 82–84.

the beginning. All the New Testament letters were addressed to congregation(s) or to their leadership¹³² and were intended to be read in the ἐκκλησίαις, i.e. the Christian synagogues (συναγωγαῖς, Jas 2:2), and their recipients were sometimes commanded to do so.¹³³ This is equally true for the Gospels, where one Jesus tradition refers explicitly to the public reader and expounder of the text, a reference that is retained in two Gospels.¹³⁴ This reference almost certainly reflects the context in which other Jesus traditions and the completed Gospels were used from the beginning¹³⁵ since the practice of reading and expounding sacred texts was taken over from the Jewish synagogue.¹³⁶

In the light of this Jewish background in which only canonical Scripture could be read in synagogue,¹³⁷ the reading of the New Testament Gospels and letters in the Christian synagogues implies that they had an inspired and normative, i.e. canonical, status for the congregations so using them.¹³⁸ It is axiomatic that the received words of Jesus had ultimate divine authority for Christian congregations from the first, and 'no increase in authority can be obtained by [later] naming them γραφή.'¹³⁹ Indeed, a teaching of Jesus (Lk 10:7; cf. Mt 10:10) is combined with Deut 25:4 and introduced by

¹³² Col 1:2; 4:15f.; II Thess 3:6–15; I Tim 1:2; II Tim 1:2; Tit 1:4; Plm 1; perhaps Heb 3:1, 13:22ff. (ἀδελφοί); I Pet 5:1; II Jn 1; III Jn 1; Jude 22f.; further, Rev 1:1; 10:7; 22:6 (δοῦλοι); 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14 (ἄγγελος). Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 13–22, 11n.

¹³³ It is commanded at Col 4:16; I Thess 5:27 and virtually so at Rev 1:3: The clause, 'the one who reads and those who hear' (ὁ ἀναγινώσκων καὶ οἱ ἀκούοντες), presupposes a congregational reading. See also Acts 15:30f.; 16:4; I Tim 4:13; Heb 13:22; II Pet 3:15f.; Rev 22:18; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 353.

¹³⁴ Mt 24:15 = Mk 13:14; see above, 223f.

¹³⁵ See above, 225f.; notes 76–81. In c. AD 148 Justin (*I Apol* 67:3; cf. 66:3; *Dial* 10:2) refers to the practice, already traditional in his time, that at the Christians' Sunday meeting, 'the memoirs (ἀπομνημονεύματα) of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read.' In c. AD 110 Pliny (*Letters* 10, 96, 7) appears to reflect a similar 'service of the word' during which the Christians sang songs or intoned verses (*carmen dicere*). Cf. A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Letters of Pliny*, Oxford 1966, 81, 705–708.

¹³⁶ See above, 226 and notes 82, 83.

¹³⁷ See above, 224 and note 70.

¹³⁸ On the meaning of canonical status in early Judaism cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Old Testament Canon in the Early Church,' *Old Testament* (note 90), 1–50, 5.

¹³⁹ D. Farkasfalvy, 'Matthew's Gospel in the Second Century: Response to Arthur J. Bellinzoni,' *Second Century* 9 (1992), 272. In fact, γραφή is often not used when quoting canonical Scripture, and it is sometimes used to introduce texts that the writer does not regard as canonical; cf. Barnabas 16:5 (I Enoch 89:56?); Irenaeus *AH* 4, 20, 2 (Hermas, *Mandates* 1:1); Origen, *Luke: Homily* 3, end (Wisdom of Solomon

Paul as γραφή (I Tim 5:18).¹⁴⁰ The same can be said for the received words of the apostles of Jesus Christ. Their authority is summarized in the comment of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch (c. AD 200), 'We receive both Peter and the other apostles as Christ, but pseudepigrapha in their name we reject. . . .'¹⁴¹ But the same divine authority is expressed much earlier by Paul when he describes his epistles as the 'command of the Lord' (κυρίου ἐντολή),¹⁴² delivered and received as 'the word of God' (παραλαβόντες . . . λόγον θεοῦ),¹⁴³ and by John when he invokes the judgment of God on anyone who 'takes away from the words of this prophecy.'¹⁴⁴ Equally, the authority ascribed to Paul's epistles in II Pet 3:15f., i.e. as divine 'wisdom' (σοφία) that 'the unstable twist as (they do) the rest of the Scriptures' (γραφάς), is fully compatible with Paul's and John's ascription of divine and canonical authority to their own apostolic writing and is not, as some have conjectured, a sign of a later date.¹⁴⁵ Unfortunately, in studies of the New Testament canon not only did some 'fail to distinguish the fundamental idea of canonicity from the actual drawing up of a list of canonical books,'¹⁴⁶ but also many confused the widening recognition of canonical books with the development and establishment of their canonical character. As B. B. Warfield rightly put it, '[W]e must not mistake the historical evidences of slow circulation and authentication of these books over the widely-extended church, for evidence of slowness of "canonization" of books by the

1:2); Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 90), 23f.; idem, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids ⁵1991, 33–37.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use* (note 139), 184f.

¹⁴¹ Serapion *apud* Eusebius *HE* 6, 12, 3. Cf. Ignatius, *ad Rom* 4:3 (c. AD 110): 'I do not command you as did Peter and Paul; they were apostles;' I Clem 42:1 (c. AD 70): 'The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . Thus Christ is from God and the apostles from Christ.' Cf. Robinson (note 31), 313, 327–334; Edmundson (note 63), 188–205.

¹⁴² I Cor 14:37.

¹⁴³ Cf. I Thess 2:13 with II Thess. 2:15; 3:6. On the terms, e.g. deliver (παραδίδόναι = מַסַּר) and receive (παραλαμβάνειν = לָקַח), used for the transmission of religious tradition cf. Mishnah Aboth 1:1; Mk 4:7f., 13; Lk 1:2; Acts 6:14; 15:30; 16:4; I Cor 11:23; Phil 4:9; II Pet 2:21; Jude 3; Ellis, *New Testament Documents* (note 9), 53–59, 323f.; idem, '1 Corinthians' (note 55), 481f.; Gerhardsson, *Memory* (note 87), 194–323; W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, 2 vols. in 1, Darmstadt ²1965, I, 106–109, 165f.

¹⁴⁴ Rev 22:19.

¹⁴⁵ For a number of writers it appears that a fixed theory of a later developing New Testament canon was presupposed and II Peter dated to accord with it. But see above, 223f.; Ellis, *Documents* (note 9), 294–299.

¹⁴⁶ B. M. Metzger, *The Canon of the New Testament*, New York ²1997, 99.

authority or the taste of the church itself.¹⁴⁷ The apostolic congregational reading of Jesus traditions in which, among other things, was proclaimed a 'new testament' (καινή διαθήκη) in his covenant blood¹⁴⁸ probably constituted the earliest portion of a written and canonical 'New Testament.' As other readings of the works of 'apostles and [their co-worker] prophets'¹⁴⁹ were vetted in the various congregations and missions, the New Testament grew to its present extent and to (virtual) universal recognition and usage.

If the New Testament epistles and Gospels had canonical authority already in the first Christian generation, how can one explain their free and variable citation by second-century writers? From this observed freedom an inference has been drawn by some that not only did the New Testament writings lack canonical status but also the Gospels were random collections of oral traditions and were without any stable text-form.¹⁵⁰ The fallacy of this inference becomes evident, however, when one observes that citations from the Old Testament, which despite Marcion had a clear canonical status and written text-form(s) in the second-century church,¹⁵¹ — these Old Testament citations exhibit the same kind of freedom and variable-ness both in New Testament¹⁵² and in patristic writers.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁷ B. B. Warfield, *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, Philadelphia 1948, 416.

¹⁴⁸ Lk 22:20; I Cor 11:25; cf. Mt 26:28f. par.

¹⁴⁹ Eph 2:20; cf. I Cor 12:28; Rev 10:7; 18:20; 22:6, 9: The reference to reading 'the Old Testament' (ἡ παλαιὰ διαθήκη, II Cor 3:14ff.) in church (3:16, 18) implies the similar use of New Testament writings (cf. 3:6; 1:1; 13:11; 1 Thess 5:27). See above, note 68, 83, 133.

¹⁵⁰ E.g. H. Koester, 'The Text of the Synoptic Gospels in the Second Century,' *Gospels Traditions in the Second Century*, ed. W. L. Petersen, Notre Dame 1989, 19–37, 26n, 37; idem, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, Philadelphia 1990, 24f., 29f. But see W. D. Köhler, *Die Rezeption des Matthäusevangeliums in der Zeit vor Irenäus*, Tübingen 1987, 517–536. The inference was based on mistaken presuppositions and methods of the classical form criticism of the 1920s. Cf. Ellis, 'Form Criticism' (note 42), 299–309 = idem, *Prophecy* (note 24), 237–247; Riesner, *Jesus* (note 89), 6–18; Stuhlmacher, *Gospel* (note 88), 2–12 = GT: 2–12. See above, Chapter I, 12–19.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 90), 33–50; R. Beckwith, *The Old Testament Canon of the New Testament Church*, London 1985, 2, 405f. See also H. von Campenhausen, *The Formation of the Christian Bible*, Philadelphia 1972, 87–102.

¹⁵² E.g. Mt 27:9; Jn 12:40; Acts 3:22f.; I Cor 2:9; Gal 4:22. Cf. Heb 1:13; 2:8; I Cor 15:25ff. with Eph 1:20, 22 (Ps 8:7; 110:1); Ellis, *Paul's Use* (note 139), 150–154.

¹⁵³ E.g. I Clem 8:3; 20:7; 28:3; II Clem 6:8; 13:2; 16:3; 17:4f.; Didache 14:3; Ignatius, *ad Tral* 8:2; Melito, *On Pascha* 61–64. For an index of biblical citations in the second-century patristic literature cf. J. Allenbach et al., edd., *Biblia Patristica*, 5 vols., Paris 1975–91, I, 49–544. Cf. D. A. Hagner, *The Use of the Old and New Testaments in Clement of Rome*, Leiden 1973, 78f., 279: '... Ignatius is dependent upon his memory of the written Synoptics. . . . His [Clement's] usage accords

There are other, more probable explanations for the free citation of New Testament books in the second century church, explanations that are consistent with the books' relatively stable text-forms and with their recognized canonical status. (1) Both New Testament Gospels and epistles were in all probability composed in several copies virtually at the beginning. Matthew apparently had a Hebrew *Vorlage* with closely following Greek translations.¹⁵⁴ Mark was copied and transmitted to Rome very soon after it was composed in Caesarea and used in Petrine congregations elsewhere in the East.¹⁵⁵ The Gospel of Luke (1:3f.) was not only given to Theophilus but also copied at the same time for the author and, very likely, for Pauline congregations. It may be, following G. Zuntz, that the Western text of Acts originated as an early second-century Syriac rewriting of Luke's work that 'may be termed a "targum;"'¹⁵⁶ if so, given the Jewish practice of writing targums on Scripture, it witnesses to the high authority with which Luke's Acts was then received. John implies that it was to be distributed to workers, i.e. the brothers (ἀδελφοί) in various congregations, and the congregational use and encyclical character of another work of the Johannine mission supports this.¹⁵⁷ In accordance with the custom in antiquity the New Testament letters were of necessity composed in at least two copies, one of which would be retained by the author.¹⁵⁸ As K. Aland,

fully with the way in which Ignatius uses the Old Testament . . .,' C. M. Tuckett, 'Synoptic Tradition in the Didache,' *The New Testament in Early Christianity*, ed. J. M. Sevrin, Leuven 1989, 197–230: Parallels between passages in the Didache and redactional elements in the Gospels 'can be best explained if the Didache presupposes the finished gospels of Matthew and Luke' (230). Cf. R. A. Kraft, 'Barnabas' Isaiah Text and Melito's *Paschal Homily*,' *JBL* 80 (1961), 373: From their "peculiar" variations . . . it is reasonably clear . . . that [in the citation of Isa 53:7 in Barn 5:2; Melito 64; Acts of Philip 78] none of these writings . . . took the quotation directly from a MS of Isaiah. . . . Cf. Köhler, *Rezeption* (note 150), 531f.: 'The recognition of the canonicity of the Gospels brought in the second century no greater exactness in citation.'

¹⁵⁴ Papias *apud* Eusebius *HE* 3, 39, 16. Cf. Zahn, *Introduction* (note 31), II, 517–530, 576–580 = GT: II, 266–276, 306–309; idem, *Matthäus* (note 86), 20–32. Somewhat differently, G. Howard, *The Gospel of Matthew according to a Primitive Hebrew Text*, Macon GA 1987, 224, *passim*.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Ellis, 'Mark's Gospel' (note 115), 803–806, 812–815; see above, 233.

¹⁵⁶ G. Zuntz, *Opuscula Selecta*, Manchester UK 1972, 189–215, 212. *Pace* Strange, *Problem* (note 111); Boismard, *Texte* (note 112). But see Ropes, 'Text' (note 111), ccxi–ccxiv. Cf. L. Vaganay, *An Introduction to New Testament Textual Criticism*, Cambridge UK 1991, 95ff.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Jn 21:23; Rev 1:3; 2:1, 8, 12, 18; 3:1, 7, 14. On 'the brothers' as a title for workers in the Christian mission cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 24), 13–22.

¹⁵⁸ See above, note 71. Cicero (*ad fam.* 7, 25, 1) kept copies of even casual cor-

D. Trobisch, J. Murphy-O'Connor and others have argued,¹⁵⁹ Paul's letters (and probably those of other apostles) were quickly copied by nearby congregations. From such a background all New Testament documents had multiple text-forms from the beginning, or immediately thereafter, that could account for some variant citations by different second-century writers. Whether different textforms had (or have) canonical status, like the different forms of Jesus-traditions in the four Gospels, is a question that need not be addressed here.

Other explanations are also to be considered. (2) Prophetic consciousness characterized both the Qumran and apostolic writers and enabled them, in contrast to the rabbis, to alter Scripture in the confidence that they thereby brought out its true meaning.¹⁶⁰ Among second-century writers also it would have stimulated a similar freedom in citing canonical texts.¹⁶¹ (3) The very 'form of ancient books' – few divisions, no 'page' numbers, scrolls awkward to handle – encouraged quotation from memory with its attendant lapses.¹⁶² (4) While the state of the New Testament text in the second century remains in debate, it apparently included several text-types that could account for a number of variations in citation by writers who received the text as canonical.¹⁶³

In the light of these factors there are good grounds to conclude that the New Testament Gospels and letters, no less than the traditions they employed, were shared among the congregations of the four allied apostolic missions and were used by them as an inspired and abiding authority. In time they became the property and the received apostolic witness of the whole church. Such is a preliminary sketch, and it is only a sketch, of elements of a history that will, I believe, provide a more adequate interpretation of Christian beginnings than those bequeathed to us by earlier generations.

respondence. Cf. Richards (note 49), 2–10. The church from which an apostle wrote would also very likely have sought a copy for its own use.

¹⁵⁹ Aland (note 71), 142: Among Paul's larger congregations such copies soon became collections, of varying sizes, of the Apostle's correspondence. Cf. also Trobisch (note 71); Murphy-O'Connor (note 49).

¹⁶⁰ Cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 90), 47–50, 92ff.; idem, *Prophecy* (note 24), 160f., 172.

¹⁶¹ E.g. Ignatius, *ad Phld* 7:1; cf. Socrates, *HE* 6, 8, end.

¹⁶² Cf. V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, 3 vols., Cambridge 1903–20, I, 22–25, 22; Vaganay (note 156), 78.

¹⁶³ Cf. B. Aland, 'Die Münsteraner Arbeit am Text des Neuen Testaments und ihr Beitrag für die frühe Überlieferung des 2. Jahrhunderts,' E. J. Epp, 'The Significance of the Papyri for Determining the Nature of the New Testament Text in the Second Century,' in Petersen, *Traditions* (note 150), 55–70, 71–103.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

READING THE GOSPELS AS HISTORY

The four New Testament Gospels are virtually the only source for our knowledge of the acts and teachings of the earthly Jesus.¹ They are received by the church as the work of inspired writers, apostles and prophets who were guided by the Spirit of God to give a true portrayal and interpretation of his life and work, and they are also historical documents whose origin and formation can be investigated and in some measure discovered. Our topic in this chapter raises the question whether these two perceptions of the Gospels are in conflict.

Written some time after Jesus' death and resurrection, the Gospels have been subjected to careful and prolonged study to determine their background and the degree to which they accurately reflect his preresurrection ministry. The historical investigation of the Gospels has mainly taken four routes, (1) the attempt to identify underlying documents (known as 'source criticism'), (2) the attempt to identify individual literary units and analyse their formation and classification (known as 'form criticism'), (3) the attempt to trace changes in these units during their transmission prior to their use by the Evangelist (known as 'tradition criticism') and, finally, (4) the attempt to identify changes that each Evangelist himself made in composing his Gospel (known as 'redaction' or 'composition criticism'). Each of these avenues of research is perfectly legitimate but, as in other areas of historical study, the results arrived at are heavily influenced if not determined by the world-view with which the historian ap-

¹ There is a brief reference to his ministry by the first-century Jewish historian, Josephus (*Antiquities* 18, 63f. = 18, 3, 3), and a few additional sayings of the earthly Jesus are recorded elsewhere in the New Testament (e.g., Acts 20:35) and in other sources. However, with few exceptions apocryphal Gospels, e.g. the Gospel of Thomas, apart from sayings derivative from the canonical Gospels, are of doubtful historical worth. Cf. C. Tuckett, *Nag Hammadi and the Gospel Tradition*, Edinburgh 1986, 149, 155f. But see J. Jeremias, *Unknown Sayings of Jesus*, London 1958. H. Koester, *Ancient Christian Gospels*, Philadelphia 1990, 85, is not convincing in his view that sayings of Jesus in the (fourth century) Gospel of Thomas predate the canonical Gospels. See above, 10ff.

proaches the texts and by his other historical and methodological assumptions.²

HISTORICAL METHOD

An assumption that may be addressed at the outset is the view, still held in some quarters, that history writing is an objective science in which the historian is a neutral observer and evaluator of probabilities. This view has been effectively discredited for general history by such writers as Carl Becker and H. S. Commager and, for biblical history, by Alan Richardson.³ Its fallacies have been illustrated again in the work of John Kenyon on critical historians in Britain.⁴

As Bernard Lonergan⁵ and others have shown, the term 'history' has at least two senses, that which is written and that which is written about. Both the Evangelists and modern historians of early Christianity offer history in the former sense. Such history is by its very nature interpretive and modern historians, including of course the present writer, are no less subjectively involved in their reconstructions than the Evangelists were in theirs. As one who very early had to contrast the history of the War between the States received at my grandmother's knee and in Jefferson Davis' *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* with that presented, for example, by Charles A. Beard in the public school text-books,⁶ I later read the diverse accounts of the ministry of Christ and the historicity of the Gospels by, say, F. W. Farrar, C. H. Dodd and B. Gerhardsson⁷ on the one

² I address these questions in more detail above, 3–19. See also E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, 2–47.

³ C. Becker, 'Detachment and the Writing of History,' *Atlantic Monthly* 106 (Oct 1910), 524–536 = *Detachment and the Writing of History*, ed. P. L. Snyder, Westport CT ²1972, 3–28; H. S. Commager, *The Study of History*, Columbus OH 1966, 43–60; A. Richardson, *History Sacred and Profane*, London 1964, 83–183.

⁴ J. Kenyon, *The History Men*, London ²1993. See below, 261, note 26.

⁵ B. Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, New York 1972, 175.

⁶ J. Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, 2 vols., London and Cranbury NJ 1958 (1881). E.g. C. A. Beard and W. C. Bagley, *The History of the American People*, New York 1928.

⁷ F. W. Farrar, *The Life of Christ*, London 1912; C. H. Dodd, *The Founder of Christianity*, London 1971; idem, 'The Framework of the Gospel Narrative,' *New Testament Studies*, New York 1953, 1–11; B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, Grand Rapids ²1998 (1961).

hand and D. F. Strauss and R. Bultmann on the other with a distinct sense of *deja vu*.⁸

The subjectivity inevitably involved in the reconstruction of the past does not, of course, diminish the importance of a proper method or excuse us from criticizing historical reconstructions that are demonstrably defective in this or other respects. A currently widespread view of the origins of the Gospels with its skeptical attitude toward their historicity seems to me to warrant such criticism, specifically, (1) in its misrepresentation of its own confessional presuppositions as a scientific or critical stance, (2) in its misuse of historical method and (3) in its mistaken historical and literary assumptions. Let us look at these points in order.

1. The historical study of the Gospels has displayed for the past two centuries a division in world-views, characterized on the one side by deism and on the other by Christian theism or, in the categories of H. Thielicke, by Cartesian and non-Cartesian assumptions.⁹ In the mid-twentieth century it was dominated in many circles by a Cartesian, that is, rationalistic approach for which Professor R. Bultmann was probably the most influential representative. Regarding history and the natural world as a closed continuum of cause and effect 'in which historical happenings cannot be rent by the interference of supernatural transcendent powers,'¹⁰ Bultmann viewed, and indeed on *a priori* grounds had to view, large portions of the Gospels as later mythological creations. On the same grounds he had to limit the 'authentic' sayings of Jesus to those he regarded as originating in Jesus' earthly ministry since no exalted Lord could, in fact, speak to and through the Gospel traditioners and Evangelists. These attitudes and conclusions which Bultmann and other rationalist historians represented as 'scientific' and 'critical' were in fact only the expression and predetermined result of their world-view, that is, their philosophical and thus ultimately confessional commitments.

2. Other questions of method are related to these philosophical assumptions, for example, the assignment of the 'burden of proof' in determining whether a particular episode in the Gospels originated

⁸ D. F. Strauss, *The Life of Jesus*, London 41902 (1835); R. Bultmann, *Jesus and the Word*, London 1935.

⁹ H. Thielicke, *The Evangelical Faith*, 3 vols., Grand Rapids 1974-81, I, 30-173.

¹⁰ R. Bultmann, *Existence and Faith*, New York 1960, 292 = GT: T ζ 13, 1957, 411f.; cf. idem, 'New Testament and Mythology,' *Kerygma and Myth*, London 1953, 7 = GT: 18.

in the preresurrection mission of Jesus and the criteria by which its preresurrection origin could be established. The proposed criteria were (1) an episode's appearance in more than one Gospel, (2) its lack of so-called 'developed,' that is, postresurrection tendencies, (3) its dissimilarity from the idiom or ideas found in contemporary Judaism or early Christianity and (4) its coherence with other Gospels material thought to be authentic. Some of the criteria raise certain probabilities and some simply beg the question, but none of them produce any 'assured results.'¹¹ As the critiques of M. Hooker and E. L. Mascall have pointed out, the criteria produced conclusions that were 'very largely the result of [the scholar's] own presuppositions and prejudices.'¹² Moreover, they received an importance beyond their due from the assumption, adopted by a number of writers, that the Gospel accounts should be regarded as postresurrection creations unless proven otherwise.¹³ Does this view of the burden of proof accord with good historical method?

According to E. Bernheim's important discussion of historical method the historian has the two-fold task of testing the genuineness and demonstrating the non-genuineness of his sources.¹⁴ Applied to the Gospels this means, as W. G. Kümmel has rightly seen,¹⁵ that the historian must not only test the preresurrection origin of a Gospel account but also demonstrate that any part of that account is created in the postresurrection church since the Gospels represent their narrative to portray the preresurrection mission of Jesus. In a word,

¹¹ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Gospels Criticism,' *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher, Grand Rapids 1991, 26–52 = GT: 27–54; idem, 'The Synoptic Gospels and History,' *Authenticating the Words and Activities of Jesus*, 2 vols., edd. B. Chilton and C. A. Evans, Leiden 1999, I, 49–57.

¹² M. Hooker, 'On Using the Wrong Tool,' *Theology* 75 (1972), 581; cf. idem, 'Christology and Methodology,' *NTS* 17 (1970–71), 480–487; E. L. Mascall, *Theology and the Gospel of Christ*, London 1977, 87–97.

¹³ E. Käsemann, 'The Problem of the Historical Jesus' (1954), *Essays on New Testament Themes*, London 1964, 37 = GT: *Exegetische Versuche und Besinnungen I*, Göttingen 1960, 205. He was followed by the Anglo-American writers, N. Perrin (*Rediscovering the Teachings of Jesus*, London 1967, 39) and J. M. Robinson (*A New Quest of the Historical Jesus*, London 1959, 38). The latter is critiqued by R. P. Martin, 'The New Quest of the Historical Jesus,' *Jesus of Nazareth: Savior and Lord*, ed. C. F. H. Henry, Grand Rapids 1966, 25–45.

¹⁴ E. Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, New York 1965 (1908), 332. C. V. Langlois and C. Seignobos (*Introduction to the Study of History*, New York 1966 [1898], 155–190) are less balanced and more sceptical: 'The historian ought to distrust a priori every statement of an author' (157).

¹⁵ W. G. Kümmel, 'Jesusforschung seit 1950,' *TR* 31 (1965–66), 42f. = *Dreissig Jahre Jesusforschung* (1950–1980), Bonn 1985, 28f.

a good historical method requires that a Gospel passage be received as an episode in Jesus' earthly ministry unless it is shown that it cannot have originated there.

CLASSICAL AND RECENT FORM CRITICISM

Under the influence of R. Bultmann and M. Dibelius¹⁶ the classical form criticism raised many doubts about the historicity of the Synoptic Gospels, but this form criticism itself was shaped by a number of literary and historical assumptions which themselves are increasingly seen to have a doubtful historical basis.¹⁷ Here we may mention three.

The early form criticism assumed, first of all, (1) that the Gospel traditions were transmitted for decades exclusively in oral form and began to be fixed in writing only when the early Christian anticipation of a soon end of the world faded. This theory was undermined by three factors: the discovery in 1947 of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the recognition that first-century Palestinian Judaism was a highly literate and linguistically diverse society and the widespread dispersal of Jesus' followers already during his earthly ministry. The Qumran sect, a group contemporaneous with the ministry of Jesus and with the early church, combined intense expectation of the End with prolific writing. It shows that such expectations did not inhibit writing but actually were a spur to it. Also, the widespread literacy in first-century Palestinian Judaism,¹⁸ together with the different language backgrounds of Jesus' followers – some Greek, some Aramaic, some bilingual – would have facilitated the rapid written formulation and transmission of at least some of his teaching. Finally, the major factor that occasioned writing in early Christianity was the separation of the believers from the teaching leadership. This is evident in 'the Jerusalem Decree' (Acts 15) and in Paul's letters. But this factor was already present during the ministry of Jesus, who had groups of adherents both in the towns of Galilee and Judea and probably

¹⁶ R. Bultmann, *History of the Synoptic Tradition*, New York ⁵1963 (1921); M. Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, New York ²1965 (1919).

¹⁷ Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'New Directions in Form Criticism,' *Prophecy and Hermeneutic*, Tübingen 1978, 237–253; idem (note 2); Stuhlmacher (note 11), 2f.

¹⁸ Cf. Josephus, *Against Apion* 2, 204 = 2, 25: The Law 'orders that [children] should be taught to read . . .'; cf. idem, *Antiquities* 12, 209 = 12, 4, 9; Philo, *Embassy to Gaius* 115, 210. Further, see R. Riesner, *Jesus als Lehrer*, Tübingen ³1988, 112–115.

also on the Phoenician coast, in the Decapolis and in Perea.¹⁹ There are good grounds, then, for supposing not only that accounts of Jesus' acts and teachings began to be traditioned already during his earthly ministry, as R. Riesner and H. Schürmann have argued,²⁰ but also that some of them were given written formulation at that time.

The missions of the Twelve²¹ and of the Seventy²² were two such occasions for this. Although the missionaries may have been trained orally and may have so delivered their own messages, it is doubtful that during a brief sojourn in a town they could have trained their converts orally. More likely, they would have written down some of Jesus' teachings. If they taught in Aramaic, Greek-speaking adherents and sympathizers would have had a special need of written translations.²³ There is then some probability that the apostolic missionaries began a written transmission of at least some of Jesus' word and work during his preresurrection mission.

Secondly, (2) the early form criticism tied the theory of oral transmission to the conjecture that Gospel traditions were mediated like folk traditions, being freely altered and even created *ad hoc* by various and sundry wandering charismatic jackleg preachers. This view, however, was rooted more in the eighteenth-century romanticism of J. G. Herder²⁴ than in an understanding of how religious tradition was handled in first-century Judaism. As O. Cullmann, B. Gerhardsson, H. Riesenfeld and R. Riesner have demonstrated,²⁵ the Judaism of

¹⁹ Jesus had hearers and doubtless some followers from Syria (Mt. 4:25), the Decapolis (Mt 4:25; Mk 3:8; 5:20; 7:31), Tyre and Sidon (Mk 3:8; 7:24, 31; Mt 15:21; Lk 6:17). Cf. Ellis (note 2), 21ff., 30ff.

²⁰ R. Riesner, 'Jesus as Preacher and Teacher,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 197–201; H. Schürmann, 'Die vorösterlichen Anfänge der Logientradition,' *Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, Düsseldorf 1968, 39–65.

²¹ Mk 6:7–13, 30 (διδάσκειν) parr. Matthew (10:1, 7–14) and Luke (9:1–6, 10) also draw upon a Q tradition of this episode.

²² Lk 10:1–20.

²³ On the 'sedentary sympathizers' of Jesus cf. Riesner (note 20), 193–196. On the use of Greek by many Palestinian Jews in the first century cf. J. Sevenster, *Do You Know Greek?* Leiden 1968, 96–175; J. A. Fitzmyer, 'Languages of Palestine in the First Century AD,' *CBQ* 32 (1970), 501–531 = idem, *A Wandering Aramean*, Missoula MT 1979, 29–56 = Grand Rapids 1997; M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 2 vols., London 1974, I, 58–106; idem, *The 'Hellenization' of Judaea in the First Century after Christ*, London 1989, 19–29. See above, 219 and note 46.

²⁴ J. G. Herder, *Christliche Schriften*, 1796, cited in W. G. Kümmel, *The New Testament: the History of the Investigation of its Problems*, Nashville 1972, 79–83, 330.

²⁵ O. Cullmann, 'The Tradition,' *The Early Church*, London 1958, 55–99;

the period treated such traditions very carefully. The rabbinic traditions, specifically, use technical terms that show the care with which they were transmitted. Although they were apparently not written down until the second century AD or later and, as we shall see, although they differ in important respects from the Gospel traditions, they exhibit terminological parallels with New Testament usage that are highly significant. The parallels are too precise to be coincidental, and in all likelihood they derive from a common root in pre-Christian Judaism. For the (later) rabbis hardly borrowed from the Christians, and the first-century Christian texts could not, of course, have borrowed from the subsequent rabbinic materials.

The New Testament writers in numerous passages applied to apostolic traditions the same technical terminology found in rabbinic Judaism for 'delivering,' 'receiving,' 'learning,' 'holding,' 'keeping,' and 'guarding,' the traditioned 'teaching.'²⁶ The use of these terms may be illustrated by the following passages from the New Testament letters:

You obeyed from the heart the type of teaching (τύπον διδαχῆς)
To which you were committed (παρεδόθητε). . . .
Watch out for those creating dissensions and roadblocks
Against the teaching (διδαχὴν) which you learned (ἐμάθετε)
Rom 6:17; 16:17

I received (παρέλαβον) from the Lord
That which I also delivered (παρέδωκα) to you.
I Cor 11:23

What things you learned (ἐμάθετε) and received (παρελάβετε)
And heard and saw in me, do these things.
Phil 4:9

Therefore, as you received (παρελάβετε) Christ Jesus as Lord
So walk in him . . . as you were taught (ἐδιδάχθητε) . . .
Watch out that no one makes a prey of you
Through philosophy and empty deceit

B. Gerhardsson, *The Origins of the Gospel Traditions*, Philadelphia 1979; H. Riesenfeld, *The Gospel Tradition*, Philadelphia 1970, 1–29; Riesner (note 18).

²⁶ E.g. I Cor 11:2; 15:3; II Thess 3:6; II Tim 3:14; Tit 1:9; Rev 2:13, 24f.; M Aboth 1:1, 3; M Peah 2:6 ('receive,' 'deliver'); Mt 21:33; Mekilta on Exod 21:11 ('hear'); Mt 9:13; Sifre on Num 15:41 ('learn'); Mt 28:20; I Cor 11:2; I Tim 6:20; Sifre on Deut 11:32 ('keep'); cf. Jn 8:31. Cf. W. Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditionsliteratur*, 2 vols. in 1, Darmstadt 1965, I, 165f. and II, 185 ('receive'); I, 106f. and II, 115 ('deliver'); I, 189f. and II, 219–224 ('hear'); I, 94ff., cf. 199–202 and II, 96–100, cf. 234f. ('learn'); I, 170 and II, 186f. ('keep'). Cf. K. H. Rengstorff, 'μαθητής,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 434–450.

According to the tradition (παράδοσιν) of men . . .
And not according to [the tradition of] Christ.²⁷

Col 2:6–8

Stand firm and hold to (κρατεῖτε) the traditions (παραδόσεις)
Which you were taught (ἐδιδάχθητε).

II Thess 2:15

Anyone who goes too far and does not abide (ὁ μένων)
In the teaching (διδαχῇ) of Christ
Does not have God
He who abides in the teaching
This one has both the Father and the Son

II Jn 9

‘Contend for the faith
Once delivered (παραδοθείση) to the saints.’

Jude 3

By their use of such technical terminology these New Testament writers, coming from three apostolic missions – Pauline, Johannine and Jacobean, both identified their tradition as ‘holy word’ and also showed their concern for a careful and ordered transmission of it.

Rom 6:17, when compared with Rom 16:17, is quite revealing. It refers to a ‘type’ of teaching that must have been common to Pauline and other apostolic circles since the Apostle can assume it had been taught to congregations in Rome, where he has never been. Furthermore, when Rom 16:17 is brought into consideration, this ‘type’ is contrasted to teachings promulgated by another mission or missions, probably a judaizing-gnosticizing group that has given Paul trouble elsewhere.²⁸

The work and word of Jesus were an important albeit distinct part of this apostolic tradition transmitted to the churches. Luke (1:2ff.) used some of the same technical terms, speaking of eyewitnesses who

²⁷ Cf. Cullmann (note 25), 62f., 68, 74f.; C. F. D. Moule, *The Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, Cambridge 1958, 89; E. Lohse, *Colossians and Philemon*, Philadelphia 1971, 96 = GT: 146.

²⁸ Cf. Ellis, ‘Paul and his Opponents’ (note 17), 109. On Rom 6:17 as a specific understanding of the Christian faith in contrast to other aberrant understandings cf. E. Käsemann, *Commentary on Romans*, Grand Rapids 1980, 181f. = GT: 171f.; F. Godet, *Epistle to the Romans*, New York 1883, 256f., 496 = FT: II, 55f., 605. Otherwise: C. E. B. Cranfield, *The Epistle to the Romans*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1979, I, 324. I now incline, with Cranfield and Donfried, to include Rom 16 in the letter to Rome even if Paul sent the letter, in modified forms, to other churches as well. Cf. K. P. Donfried, ed., *The Romans Debate*, Peabody MA ²1991, 44–52; otherwise: T. W. Manson, *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, Manchester UK 1962, 225–241.

‘delivered (παρέδωσαν) to us’ the things contained in his Gospel and about which his patron Theophilus has been instructed (κατηχήθης). Similarly, the amanuenses, i.e. co-worker-secretaries who composed the Gospel of John speak of the Evangelist, the beloved disciple, as an eyewitness and a member of the inner circle of Jesus’ disciples.²⁹ ‘This is the disciple,’ they write, ‘who is witnessing concerning these things and who wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true.’ In the same connection it is not insignificant that those to whom Jesus entrusted his teachings are not called ‘preachers’ (κήρυκες) but ‘pupils’ (μαθηταί) and ‘apostles’ (ἀπόστολοι), semi-technical terms for those who represent and mediate the teachings and instructions of their mentor or principal.³⁰

From these and other observations it has become apparent to many scholars that the early form criticism was seriously flawed in its use of folk-tradition analogies to understand the earliest transmission of the Gospel traditions. While the practices reflected in the somewhat later rabbinic writings are not analogous in every respect, as we shall see below, they do provide, from the same culture and general time-frame, important insights for understanding the usage of Jesus and his apostles. It is not without significance that Jesus was known as a ‘rabbi,’ that is, a ‘teacher,’³¹ a prophet-teacher to be sure but a teacher nonetheless. Those who passed on his message not only had their ‘teacher training’ under a master rabbi but also continued his methods in their transmission of his word and story to others.³²

²⁹ Jn 19:35; 21:24f.; cf. 13:23; 18:15f.; 19:26f.; 20:1–10; 21:7, 21–23. Cf. J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, London 1976, 298–311. Pace S. S. Smalley, *John: Evangelist and Interpreter*, Nashville ³1984, 80ff. and R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John*, 2 vols., Garden City NY 1970, I, ci–cii, who distinguish the Evangelist from the Beloved Disciple. On Jesus traditions in Paul’s letters and on the authorship of John’s Gospel see above, 55–61, 78, 86; Ellis (note 2), 70–77, 112–115, 143–152.

³⁰ On parallels with other rabbis and their disciples and other Jewish usage cf. Mk 2:18 = Lk 5:33; K. H. Rengstorf, ‘ἀπόστολος,’ ‘μαθητής,’ *TDNT*, I (1964/1933), 413–433; IV (1967/1942), 431–455.

³¹ Mt 23:8; Jn 1:38; 20:16. Cf. H. Shanks, ‘Is the Title Rabbi Anachronistic in the Gospels?’ *JQR* 53 (1963), 343f.; Hengel (note 23), I, 81f.; A. F. Zimmermann, *Die Urchristliche Lehrer*, Tübingen ²1988, 86–94. Of course, the term, ‘rabbi,’ does not have in the Gospels the same technical connotation of ‘ordained Scripture-scholar’ that it has in the later rabbinic writings (cf. M. Hengel, *The Charismatic Leader and his Followers*, New York 1981, ‘1968, 42–48), but the connotation of ‘biblical teacher’ was clearly present in the first century. Jesus had this role and his instruction had more in common with rabbinic methods than is usually recognized (cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen and Grand Rapids 1992, 71–101). See Ellis (note 2), 31f., 349ff.

³² Cf. Riesner (note 25), 246–298, 408–487; Zimmermann (note 31), 144–193.

A third fundamental axiom of classical form criticism is also historically doubtful, that is, (3) that the geographical and chronological framework of the Gospels was wholly the creation of the traditioners and Evangelists. The Gospels are not chronologies, of course, and the Evangelists feel free, as did the Roman historian Suetonius, to organize their presentation on thematic or other lines. However, if C. H. Dodd's schematic framework of Jesus' ministry is not fully acceptable,³³ K. L. Schmidt's views are much less satisfactory.³⁴ Among other things Schmidt drew too sharp a dichotomy between editorial and traditional elements in the Gospels and did not recognize, as much as he should have, that the Evangelists' editorial arrangements – such as the journey to Jerusalem in Luke (9:51–19:44) – are often simply a reworking of received traditions.

If the classical form criticism built, in a number of respects, upon a poor foundation, is there a better explanation of the origin and formation of our canonical Gospels?

GOSPEL TRADITIONERS AS PROPHETS

An acceptable reconstruction of the formation of the Gospels must take into account both first-century Jewish attitudes toward the transmission of religious traditions and the charismatic, prophetic character of the ministry of Jesus and of the primitive church. With respect to the former B. Gerhardsson's conception of a controlled transmission of Gospel traditions marked a clear advance beyond the earlier form criticism, but his analogy between the Gospels and rabbinic writings was unable to account for the kind of alteration and elaboration of traditions, uncharacteristic of the rabbis, that one observes even when comparing one Gospel with another. Indeed, the traditioners and Evangelists seem to handle Jesus' word with the same kind of freedom that they use with another type of 'holy word,' citations from Old Testament scriptures. How is this free handling of their Lord's word to be understood? Their conduct in this respect is best explained, I believe, by a prophetic consciousness.

Jesus viewed himself³⁵ and was perceived by others³⁶ to be the bearer of the prophetic Spirit, and he promised the same Spirit to

³³ Dodd, 'Framework' (note 7). Cf. Ellis (note 2), 23, 351f.

³⁴ K. L. Schmidt, *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu*, Darmstadt 1964 (1919).

³⁵ Mt 13:57 = Mk 6:4 = Lk 4:18, 24; 13:33f.; Jn 4:44; cf. Mt 12:28 = Lk 11:20.

³⁶ Mk 6:15; 8:28; cf. 8:11; 14:65 = Mt 26:67f. = Lk 22:63f.; 24:19.

his followers.³⁷ Already in his earthly ministry the apostles were sent on their missions of teaching, healing and exorcisms in the role of prophets whether, as J. Jeremias has argued, the Spirit was already conferred on them³⁸ or, perhaps not very different, whether the endowment of the Spirit upon Jesus was active in their use of his name. It is clear in any case that the Gospel traditioners and the Evangelists included themselves among those who fulfilled a prophetic role in their perception of the 'mysteries of the kingdom of God,'³⁹ in their preaching and persecution and in their writing as 'wise men and scribes,' that is, scripture teachers.⁴⁰

The following two passages may serve to illustrate the prophetic status of those to whom Jesus entrusted his story and his teachings. The first is from the Sermon on the Mount, Mt 5:11f.:

Blessed are you
When . . . they persecute you . . . for my sake
Rejoice and exult (ἀγαλλιᾶσθε) . . .
For so they persecuted
The prophets who were before *you*.

The Sermon on the Mount is addressed to Jesus' disciples, that is, his 'pupils' (οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ), a term that in Matthew often designates the Twelve but also may refer to a much larger body of people who sat under Christ's instruction.⁴¹ The present pericope is directed to, or at least finds its fulfillment in, the narrower group of those who are sent to carry Jesus' message to others, that is, those who are apostles. It is in this context that they are essentially equated with earlier prophets, who also mediated God's word under persecution and martyrdom.⁴² The term 'exult' (ἀγαλλιᾶσθαι) is often used

³⁷ Mt 10:19f. = Mk 13:11 = Lk 21:15; 12:12; Jn 7:38f.; 14:17f., 26; 16:7; cf. Mt 3:11 = Mk 1:8 = Lk 3:16.

³⁸ J. Jeremias, *New Testament Theology*, London 1971, 79. Cf. Mt 10:1; Mk 6:7, 30; Lk 9:1f.; 10:9, 17.

³⁹ Mt 13:11 = Lk 8:10. This Q tradition has a parallel in Mk 4:11. 'To know mysteries' of God's purposes is a prophetic trait in apocalyptic Judaism, going back to Daniel. Cf. Ellis (note 17), 57–62; Lk 10:23f. par.

⁴⁰ Mt 13:52. In Mt 23:34 'wise men and scribes' are apparently equivalent to 'apostles' in Lk 11:49. 'Wise man' is equivalent to 'prophet' in Philo (*On the Giants* 5, 22; idem, *On the Unchangeableness of God* 1, 3). Cf. Ellis (note 2), 42–45.

⁴¹ E.g. Mt 10:1; 11:1; 20:17. The qualified 'twelve disciples' presupposes that there were more. Cf. Lk 10:39; 19:37; Jn 4:1; 6:60–67; I Cor 15:6; K. H. Rengstorf, 'μαθητής,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 450–453.

⁴² On the prophet as martyr cf. G. Friedrich, 'προφήτης,' *TDNT* 6 (1968), 834f.

in early Christianity to characterize the exalted state of inspired prophetic exclamation.⁴³

A second teaching, found in all three Synoptics and in sources underlying them, appears in the mission of the Twelve (Matthew), in instructions to disciples (Luke)⁴⁴ and in the apocalyptic discourse on the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the age (Mark, Luke):

When they bring you [to trial] . . .
Say whatever is given you in that hour
For it is not you who speak
But the Holy Spirit.

Mk 13:11

The Lukan form is somewhat different: 'I will give you a mouth and wisdom' (Lk 21:15, στόμα καὶ σοφίαν). This is perhaps to underscore an allusion to the persecuted apostolic witnesses in Acts, especially Stephen.⁴⁵

These passages point to the prophetic credentials of those disciples of Jesus who transmit his word to others. They are included in the Gospels because *inter alia* the traditioners and evangelists regarded themselves as also having such credentials. This best explains their boldness and confidence in adapting and applying Old Testament texts to Jesus as well as contemporizing Jesus' words to their own situation.

A brief example may illustrate one way in which they do this. Mk 8:34 reads:

If anyone would come after me
Let him deny himself
And take up his cross
And follow me.

In Jesus' earthly ministry this invitation had one meaning and one only: 'Come and die with me at Jerusalem.' Luke (9:23) adds a single word to this saying:

And take up his cross daily.

By this addition Luke or better, the exalted Lord through his prophet, universalizes the invitation. In effect he says, 'No one died with Jesus at Jerusalem. But the demand remains, and all Christ's followers can

⁴³ Lk 1:46f.; 10:21; Jn 8:56; Acts 2:26, 30f.; Rev 19:7; cf. I Pet 1:6; Ignatius, *Eph* 9:2, *Mag* 1:1, *Phld*, preface, cf. 7:1f.; Shepherd of Hermas, *Mandates* 5, 1, 2; 5, 2, 3.

⁴⁴ Cf. Mt 10:19f.; Lk 12:11f.

⁴⁵ Acts 6:3, 10; 15:7; cf. 3:18, 21; 4:24f.

in their daily lives and in their deaths follow him, carrying whatever cross that may be their lot.' In this way Luke brings Christ's teaching into the present situation of his hearers. Given the Evangelists' prophetic credentials, such elaborations and contemporizations are no less an authentic word of Jesus than the words he spoke in his earthly ministry.

Ordinarily, oracles of the risen Lord, such as one finds in Rev 2-3, are not incorporated into the Gospel traditions. But there are a few instances in which this appears to have occurred.⁴⁶ If so, they also are no less authentic teachings of Jesus.⁴⁷ As an example of this, one may cite Mt 18:20:

Where two or three are gathered in my name
There am I in their midst.

It is difficult, though perhaps not impossible,⁴⁸ to conceive of an extended presence of the earthly Jesus. More likely this is the exalted Lord's presence via the Holy Spirit in the corporate body of believers.

There are few if any historical or literary grounds, however, to suppose that the Gospel traditioners created events in Jesus' life. Assertions to this effect almost always represent a failure to understand the care and historical concern with which the Gospel traditioners transmitted the story of Jesus. If a proper historical critical method is followed, proper presuppositions observed and the practices of first-century religious Judaism understood, the Gospels of the New Testament will be found to be a reliable presentation and faithful portrait of the teachings and acts of the preresurrection mission of Jesus.

⁴⁶ For example, Lk 11:49-52 = Mt 23:34ff. In Luke the passage is a quotation introduced by the formula, 'the Wisdom of God said,' but in Matthew it is simply a saying of Jesus. 'Wisdom of God' is a designation for the exalted Christ in I Cor 1:24 and a title for him in second-century texts (Justin, *Dialogue* 38:2; 61:1; 100:4; Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation* 8). As the earliest use of this rare title, Lk 11:49 probably introduces a prophetic saying from the exalted Lord. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids 1996, 171-174.

⁴⁷ Cf. G. F. Hawthorne, 'The Role of Christian Prophets in the Gospel Tradition,' *Tradition and Interpretation in the New Testament*, edd. G. F. Hawthorne with O. Betz, Grand Rapids and Tübingen 1987, 119-133.

⁴⁸ Cf. Lk 9:47; Jn 1:48; II Kg 5:25f.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE ROLE OF THE PROPHET IN THE QUEST FOR TRUTH

All serious inquiry, whatever the discipline, professes to be a quest for truth. Whether it is a court hearing a case at law, a biologist or physicist at work in the laboratory or a theologian reading the book of a biblical prophet, each one seeks the truth or truths thought to be conveyed in the respective contexts. Each also recognizes the complex nature of truth as, for example, information about a fact, the comprehension of an idea or concept, knowledge through personal relationship or a combination of such things.¹

THE APPROACH OF PHILOSOPHY

Philosophy is traditionally the discipline that has classified the significant objects of truth as God (or ultimate reality), man, and the world. And it has set the essential questions: What is? How do we know? How shall we act? The questions, in turn, govern three general divisions of philosophical study: metaphysics, epistemology and ethics.² The divisions are interrelated, and the answer given to the epistemological question, 'How do we know?'³ pretty much determines the answer given to the other questions.

Rationalism and Empiricism

Modern philosophy offers, broadly speaking, a two-fold answer to the epistemological question: We know by reason and by experience.

¹ Cf. A. F. Holmes, 'Truth,' *NDT* 695f.; G. Curry, 'What is Truth,' *Churchman* 111 (1997), 143–158: Aquinas, compared to Aristotle, 'had a fuller understanding of truth because he lived in the light of Christ as truth' (158).

² For more detailed divisions and diagrams of 'the parts of philosophy' cf. A. R. Lacy, 'Maps of Philosophy,' *OCP* 927–944: 'Questions that can be asked in philosophy may be classified under "Epistemology," "Logic and philosophical logic," "Philosophy of mind," "Moral philosophy," "Political philosophy," "Philosophy of language," and "Philosophy of science"' (929).

³ Cf. D. W. Hamlyn, 'History of Epistemology,' C. A. Kirwin, 'Problems of Epistemology,' *OCP* 242–245, 245–249; E. D. Cook, 'Epistemology,' *NDT* 225f.

Before the work of Immanuel Kant⁴ it focused on this question and answered it in two ways. Philosophers on the European Continent emphasized knowledge through autonomous human reason,⁵ and British philosophers stressed knowledge through human experience.⁶

René Descartes (1596–1650), supposing that knowledge of reality arose from within one's own mind (or soul), set forth the famous dictum, 'I think, therefore I am' (*cogito ergo sum*). From the fact that he could affirm or doubt his existence, he inferred the reality of his existence. Furthermore, from the starting point of the reality of his Ego, i.e. of individual Man, Descartes thought that human reason could then establish the reality of God and of the external world.⁷ With variations, 'rationalist' philosophers followed his view of how we know truth. But another kind of epistemology arose in the British Isles that challenged Descartes' views.

The Scottish philosopher, David Hume (1711–1776), developing the thought of others, especially of John Locke, argued that the source of knowledge lay entirely in experience in which sensations provide the basis from which ideas are derived, ideas whose external reality was also uncertain. He may offer 'an early application in psychological idiom of the logical positivists' verification principle.'⁸ Hume's empiricism resulted in a skepticism, which was in fact an *a priori* assumption,⁹ both about the knowledge of external realities generally and about miracles in particular. The latter became more apparent in his essay on miracles in which any supernatural event in history was excluded.¹⁰

⁴ I. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, London 1929 (²1787/¹1781).

⁵ The early Continental 'rationalists' are often summed up by 3 writers: René Descartes (1596–1650), Baruch (Benedict) de Spinoza (1632–1677) and Gottfried von Leibniz (1646–1716). Cf. *OCP* 188–192, 845–848, 477–480; 'Immanuel Kant,' *ODCC* 760; *NDT* 224f., 656.

⁶ Representative of the early British empiricists are John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753) and David Hume (1711–1776). Cf. *OCP* 493–496, 89–92, 377–381; *ODCC* 665.

⁷ Cf. E. M. Curley, *Descartes Against the Skeptics*, Oxford 1978, 19, 168: 'So Descartes' ontological argument [for God] does, in the end, fail, though not, I think, for the reasons usually advanced against it.'

⁸ So, P. Helm, 'David Hume,' *NDCC* 490. Cf. Cook (note 3).

⁹ See E. E. Ellis, *The Making of the New Testament Documents*, Leiden 1999, Appendix VI, 435ff.

¹⁰ D. Hume, 'Of Miracles,' *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (GB 35), 488–497 (Section 10). For critiques of Hume cf. B. J. F. Lonergan, *Insight*, London ²1958, 411–416; from the perspective of 'common sense realism' cf. Thomas Reid, *Works*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1852. Further cf. R. M. Chisolm, *Foundations of Knowing*,

The Kantian Revolution and its Effects

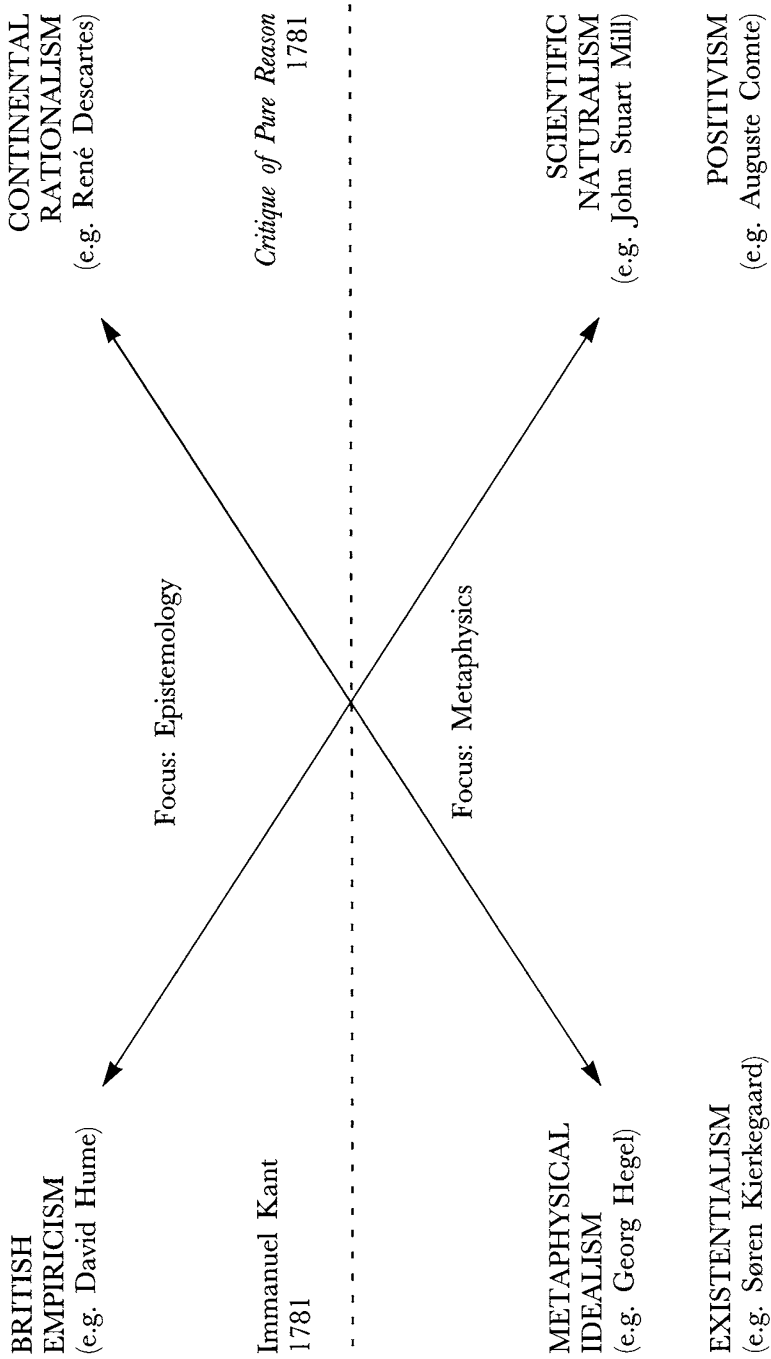
Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) sought to resolve the deadlock between Continental rationalism and British empiricism. In his *Critique of Pure Reason*¹¹ he reasoned that although knowledge begins in experience, it does not consist (only) in experience. The mind interprets the sense-data that it receives and gives specific meaning to them. It may be viewed as a kind of ‘contemplative custard cup’ that shapes whatever kind of ‘custard,’ i.e. sense-data, that is received into it. The mind, then, is the determining component of specific knowledge. In Kant’s view one can affirm from sense-data that something is out there, but one cannot know external reality specifically, i.e. ‘the thing in itself.’ The specific content of experience, he argued, is determined as it is interpreted by the mind, and one cannot know whether the mind’s conception actually corresponds to the external reality. Nevertheless, as a critic observed, Kant still got off the tracks when he saw a train coming.

Kant brought about what has been termed a ‘Copernican revolution’ in modern philosophy. His conclusions about epistemology, i.e. ‘how we know,’ radically affected philosophy’s conclusions about metaphysics, i.e. ‘what is real’ or what is knowable. At least four philosophical movements followed upon this Kantian revolution, all of which involved a shift in emphasis from epistemology to metaphysics. They were on the one hand (1) Metaphysical Idealism and (2) Existentialism, arising in Europe from the earlier rationalism, and on the other hand (3) Scientific Naturalism arising initially in Britain from the earlier empiricism. A more general effect of Kant’s philosophy was (4) Historical Relativism.¹² Within this context the trend in modern philosophy may be illustrated by the following diagram:

Minneapolis MN 1982, 65–70; P. Helm, ‘Common Sense Philosophy,’ *NDT* 152 and the literature cited.

¹¹ Kant (note 4).

¹² Cf. A. F. Holmes, ‘Relativism,’ *NDT* 574f.



Metaphysical Idealism, from the time of its foremost proponent, Georg Hegel (1770–1831), has been profoundly influential. It identified the locus of truth not in the historical event or word but in the realm of idea or myth: Truth is the mythological.¹³

Existentialism also removed the locus of truth from the external realm. Søren A. Kierkegaard (1813–1855), the father of existentialist philosophy, protested in various respects against Hegelian idealism.¹⁴ Nonetheless he, like Hegel, locates truth not in the sphere of history nor in nature but within the human Ego, though not in the mind but in the will, i.e. in the act of decision. He ‘links up truth with the existing subject instead of with its [external] object. . . . Kierkegaard draws the theological consequences from this position by denying the possibility of an objective system of doctrinal truth:’¹⁵ Truth is subjectivity.¹⁶

Scientific Naturalism arose initially in Britain under the influence of Hume’s empiricism.¹⁷ It affirmed as truth external realities in so far as they could be confirmed by repeated laboratory, i.e. controlled demonstrations: Truth is what can be verified in the test-tube. With this limitation both miracles¹⁸ and history generally¹⁹ were excluded from knowable reality. As T. C. Oden put it, ‘The heart of the scientific method is verification.’ Historians cannot achieve [absolute]

¹³ E.g. [G. W. F.] *Hegel’s Philosophy of Mind*, Oxford 1971 (1894); idem, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Philosophie*, Hamburg 1959, 55, cited in J. E. Toews, *Hegelianism*, Cambridge 1980, 263: ‘For Hegel . . . [t]he truth had to express itself in the real, in “myths and symbols, representations and finite relationships in general” before it could be grasped. Myths were an “unveiling” as well as a “veiling” of the truth.’ An extension of Idealism may be seen in the phenomenology of E. Husserl. See M. J. Inwood, ‘Edmund Husserl,’ *OCP* 382ff.; *ODCC*, ‘Hegel,’ 616f.; H. Harris, ‘Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel,’ *NDT* 288ff.; P. Helm, ‘Idealism,’ *NDT* 288ff., 326f. and the literature cited.

¹⁴ Cf. N. Thulstrup, *Kierkegaard’s Relation to Hegel*, Princeton NJ 1980, 242–261, *passim*.

¹⁵ *ODCC*, ‘Kierkegaard,’ 766.

¹⁶ S. Kierkegaard, *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, Princeton NJ 1944 (1846), 181: ‘The objective accent falls on WHAT is said; the subjective accent on HOW it is said.’ ‘In this manner subjectivity and the subjective constitute the truth’ (181).

¹⁷ Cf. A. R. Lacy, ‘Naturalism,’ *OCP* 604ff. With minor qualifications T. H. Huxley (1825–1895), *Collected Essays*, 9 vols., London 1894–1908, and the logical positivists reflected this viewpoint. Cf. N. G. Fotion, ‘Logical Positivism,’ *OCP* 507f.; *ODCC*, ‘T. H. Huxley,’ 669f.; E. D. Cook, ‘Logical Positivism’; A. C. Thiselton, ‘J. J. Wittgenstein,’ *NDT* 394f., 726f., and the literature cited.

¹⁸ Cf. C. Brown, ‘Miracle,’ *NDT* 443f.; *ODCC* 905 and the literature cited.

¹⁹ Cf. D. A. Carson, *The Gagging of God*, Leicester UK 1996, 116–120.

verification, since the events have disappeared into the past. History cannot be reenacted.²⁰

Historical Relativism is a more general consequence of Kantian philosophy that may be seen in a number of contemporary derivatives of his thought.²¹ It supposes that since all historical truth is found in the context of the time, circumstances and personality of the speaker or writer, such truth is relative to one's historical situation (Dilthey)²² or to one's temperament (Nietzsche).²³ This philosophical attitude set the stage for the widespread popular relativism that truth is whatever one wishes to make it; this is true for you and that for me.

Conclusion

The philosophical dilemma that Kant posed resulted in modifying in at least three ways philosophy's endeavor to achieve an answer to ultimate questions. (1) It put an end to attempts to establish a rational proof for the existence of God. Although it was countered by a 'common sense philosophy',²⁴ that viewpoint was unable to overcome, on acceptable philosophical terms, the power of Kant's *Critique*.

(2) Kant's work also narrowed the scope of what philosophy sought to achieve. Formerly philosophy was concerned to identify and define truth in a comprehensive way. After Kant it might still construct and test 'models' for a satisfactory or 'best' world-view but it could not, with its Kantian epistemology, give firm or full answers to questions about external realities. (3) After Kant, philosophy's conception

²⁰ T. C. Oden, *After Modernity . . . What? Agenda for Theology*, Grand Rapids 1990, 123. Also, see above, Chapter I, 5ff.

²¹ For example, the relativism with which deconstructionism handles literary texts. Cf. Carson (note 18), 107–116; J. M. Ellis, *Against Deconstruction*, Princeton NJ 1989, 97–152.

²² Cf. W. Dilthey, *Meaning in History*, London 1961, 159–168; cf. 54–62 (H. P. Rickman); H. P. Rickman, *Dilthey Today*, Westport CT 1988, 15–42. See also M. J. Inwood, 'Wilhelm Dilthey,' *OCP* 201; H. Harris, 'Wilhelm Dilthey,' A. C. Thiselton, 'Hermeneutics,' *NDT* 199, 295f.; *ODCC* 399f., and the literature cited.

²³ F. W. Nietzsche, *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, London 1933 ('1883). Cf. M. Clark, *Nietzsche on Truth and Philosophy*, Cambridge 1991, 32ff., 205–244: According to some writers 'Nietzsche equates truth with what satisfies our practical interests.' 'Nietzsche admits . . . that his own will to truth is an expression of the will to power, . . .' (239). See also A. F. Holmes, 'Friedrich Nietzsche,' *NDT* 470f.; *ODCC* 959f., and the literature cited.

²⁴ Initiated apparently by Thomas Reid (1710–1796), *Works*, 2 vols., Edinburgh 1852.

of and quest for truth either retreated into the interior of the mind (idealism) or of the will (existentialism) or it limited itself to testable natural phenomena (scientific naturalism) and to mathematical and linguistic logic (logical positivism). In the latter instance it has fallen into a relativism that increasingly denies even the possibility of a knowledge of truth.²⁵ Within this framework philosophy, which had been called the handmaid of Christian theology, became for the most part its antagonist.²⁶ When one turns to the biblical writers, one sees a radically different picture.

THE APPROACH OF THE BIBLICAL PROPHETS

General Considerations

The biblical writings were regarded by their recipients as a divine revelation, the teaching of prophets.²⁷ They reflect areas of inquiry and concern similar to those exercising the philosopher, and they address the same questions: What is? How do we know? How shall we act? But they do so with an approach quite different from that

²⁵ Which continues to concern contemporary studies, e.g. D.W. Hamlyn, *In and Out of the Black Box: On the Philosophy of Cognition*, Oxford 1990, 93f., 103ff., 167n.

²⁶ E.g. 'deconstructionism.' Cf. S. Walker, 'Challenging Deconstruction,' *Churchman* 111 (1997), 239–248: 'Derrida concludes that no text can be said to have the presence of the author in it, but Scripture is surely a text where above all there is a Presence, not an absence.' 'Rather, Scripture deconstructs us only to reconstruct us on a new foundation' (247f.). For further critiques of deconstructionism cf. J. H. Olthuis, '... A Conversation with John D. Caputo,' *Christian Scholar's Review* 19 (1989–90) 345–362; John M. Ellis (note 21); Carson (note 19), 57–137, esp. 102–105. But see also Alun Munslow, *Deconstructing History*, London 1997, 76–98, passim; K. J. Vanhoozer, *Is There a Meaning in This Text?* Grand Rapids 1998, 37–195.

²⁷ Using 'prophets' in a broad sense. In ancient Israel three classes were recognized as mediators of the mind of God to his people: the wise man, the prophet, and the priest (cf. Jer 18:18). The wise man and the prophet were the direct recipients and mediators of divine knowledge; the priest preserved and transmitted their written revelations and carried them out in the various religious rites. Cf. J. Pedersen, *Israel: Its Life and Culture*, 4 vols. in 2, London 1940, II, 73, 160–164.

In the later Old Testament period, at Qumran and in the New Testament the gifts of divine wisdom and of prophecy had pretty much merged into that of the 'wise teachers' (maskilim) at Qumran and the equivalent 'pneumatics' (πνευματικοί) in the early church. Generally understood, the 'prophet' in early Christianity is a similar figure with some of the same if not identical gifts. Cf. E. E. Ellis, *Paul's Use of the Old Testament*, Grand Rapids 1991, 107–112; idem, *Prophecy and Hermeneutic in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1978, 52–56, 149, 172, 182–187; idem, *The Old Testament in Early Christianity*, Tübingen 1991, 116–121, 125–130. Otherwise: M. Turner, *The Holy Spirit and Spiritual Gifts*, Carlisle UK 1996, 206–212.

of philosophy. Unlike the philosophers, whose affirmation of reality begins with the human Ego, individual Man, and reaches out to achieve knowledge of ultimate reality or truth or god (Mfi g), the prophets affirm the self-authenticating character of ultimate Reality or God, whose creative and revelatory Word brings into being and makes evident the reality of the world and of man (Gfi m).²⁸

The prophets answer the second question, 'how do we know,' in terms also radically different from the philosophers. Not only is God identified with truth, they assert, but truth about God or man or the world is not something one achieves but something one receives from God. Truth is not at man's disposal but is either revealed or concealed by God.²⁹ Two conclusions follow from this epistemology. (1) For a knowledge of the truth the biblical writers give priority to divine revelation over human reason or experience, to the prophetic voice or vision over the philosophical mind. (2) They use reason and experience, including logical argument, hermeneutical rules, and the experiences and history of individuals and of the nation of Israel. But they do so in the light of and in subordination to divine revelation. The definition and elaboration of this 'knowledge via revelation' will be discussed below. For now it must suffice to sketch out the epistemological approach of the prophet.

The contrast between the prophet and the philosopher in the area of ethics, 'how shall we act,' basically lies in the definition of the 'good.' For the prophet the good is not an idea of the good (idealism) nor an evaluation of what works (pragmatism).³⁰ It is rather what God, speaking through the prophet, says is good. The approach of the prophet is, of course, in accord with his whole perspective in which the truth resides in and proceeds from God. But it also expresses a critique of an ethics resting solely on the human mind or practice. Why is this? Two explanations may be offered.

(1) The maxim, 'Experience is the best teacher,' has a counter-

²⁸ Cf. Exod 3:13ff.: God commands Moses to tell Pharaoh and the enslaved Israelites that 'I AM THAT I AM' has sent him.

²⁹ E.g. when the prophet Daniel (12:4) is told that 'at the time of the end . . . knowledge shall be increased,' the passive voice implies 'knowledge shall be increased by God.' Cf. also Lk 9:45. The great astronomer, Johannes Kepler, saw this at least partially when he understood his task to be 'thinking God's thoughts after him.' Cf. M. Dixson FRS, *Science and Irreligion*, London ³1962, 5.

³⁰ Popularized by William James, *The Variety of Religious Experiences*, London ⁴1971; idem, *Pragmatism*, New York 1922. See also N. Rescher, 'Pragmatism,' *OCP* 710-713; *ODCC*, 'William James,' 'Pragmatism,' 713f., 1095f.

maxim attributed to Benjamin Franklin: 'Experience keeps a hard school. But fools will learn in no other, and scarcely in that.'³¹ Experience is always partial, and pragmatic or situational ethics built upon it is always inadequate and often prone to a false turning. As the prophet expresses it, 'There is a way that seems right to a man, but its end is the way of death' (Pv 14:12).

(2) Autonomous human reason also fails in the end to be a sufficient ethical guide. It has been able in many instances to identify the 'good' and to structure ethical principles and systems, but at some point reason becomes rationalization. When in the past it attempted to identify, define or prove ultimate reality or God, the god that it found was finally a creature of the mind's own making, an idol, and not the God who speaks through the prophets. This recognition caused Blaise Pascal to exclaim, 'The God of Abraham, of Isaac and of Jacob. Not the god of the philosophers and the wise.'³² The apostolic prophet Paul wrote similarly, 'The world did not know God through wisdom. . . . The Greeks seek wisdom, but we proclaim Christ crucified.'³³ Again, he writes, 'Although [men] knew God, they did not honor him as God . . .; rather, they became vain in their reasonings, and their unperceptive heart was darkened.'³⁴ In both of these contexts the Apostle links perverse thinking to perverse ethics. From the prophet's perspective human reason is under the noetic effects of sin. It has a warp that goes back to the Garden where guilty Adam hides his exposed Ego and gives a rationalizing response to God: 'The woman that you gave me' made me do it.³⁵

Human reason is accurate enough in mathematics; no threat to the Ego there. But when it moves inward in consecutive concentric circles – from math to logic to history to psychology to ethics – to consider issues closer to the core, to the individual or corporate Ego, reason takes self-justifying twists and turns. It is evident, for example, in histories of Europe (to say nothing of histories of early Christianity) written respectively by German and English authors or by different historical schools.³⁶ For the social sciences – psychology

³¹ Cf. A. Wooléver, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Quotations*, Philadelphia 1893, 134.

³² Blaise Pascal, *Pensees: with an English Translation*, London 1950, 363 (II, A, 2)

³³ I Cor 1:21ff.

³⁴ Rom 1:21.

³⁵ Gen 3:12 cf. 3:8–11.

³⁶ Cf. John P. Kenyon, *The History Men*, London 1993. Re New Testament history see above, Chapter I, 3–7; cf. E. E. Ellis, 'The Synoptic Gospels and History,'

and sociology, it is apparent in the well known shifting of immoral acts into amoral categories and of individual transgressions into societal defects. Such rationalizing appears early, even in squabbling children, who are adept in explaining why the other is to blame. Among the categories of human understanding – Kant’s contemplative custard cups – is one of self-justification: ‘Don’t blame me.’ This mental warp in the end always distorts autonomous and fallen human reason; in particular it suppresses truth about ultimate Reality because that Reality presents everyone, no less than Adam, with an ethical accusation and demand.³⁷

Results of the Prophet’s Approach to Truth

Several results flow from the prophet’s perspective of God as the center and source of truth and knowledge. First (1), the biblical writings make no attempt to prove the existence of God, an attitude summed up in the comment, ‘[Only] a fool has said in his heart, “There is no God”’.³⁸ Second (2), because they associate truth with the knowledge of God and thus with the ‘good,’ they give to truth an ethical dimension. They declare that ‘the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding’,³⁹ and they equate ‘the oracles of God’ with ‘the word of righteousness.’⁴⁰ Because they recognize God as both the source and the mediator of knowledge, (3) they give priority to the Word of God through prophets as the way to truth about God, man and the world.⁴¹

Finally, the recognition that God is the creator, both of the world and of our minds, gives confidence – though not a philosophical proof – that the external world does correspond to the experienced reality received and interpreted by our minds. In this frame of reference the problem posed by Kant receives an answer. Albert Einstein pursued his scientific investigations of the natural world in the conviction that God does not play dice with us.⁴² Indeed, the whole

Authenticating the Words and Activities of Jesus, 2 vols., ed. B. Chilton *et al.*, Leiden 1999, I, 49–57.

³⁷ Cf. Rom. 1:18–32.

³⁸ Ps 14:1 = 53:1; cf. Heb 11:6.

³⁹ Pv 9:10.

⁴⁰ Heb 5:12f. Such texts are not random sentiments but express the implicit perspective that one can observe repeatedly throughout the Scriptures.

⁴¹ E.g. Ps 94:8–11; Dan 1:17; Jer 3:15; I Cor 1–2.

⁴² Cf. P. A. Schilpp, ed., *Albert Einstein: Philosopher-Scientist*, New York 1957, citing Einstein’s 7 Nov 1944 letter to Max Born: ‘You believe in God playing dice

modern scientific enterprise depends and proceeds on the acceptance of the trustworthy character of our senses.

Even if one accepts the prophet's approach to the quest for truth, important questions remain to be addressed. What is the basis for the Christian tradition's insistence on the Bible as the source of God's revelation, his truth for us? How does one discern the Word of God in the Bible?

THE BIBLE AS THE WORD OF GOD

Revelation and Canon

Not all prophetic revelation is included in the 66 books of canonical Scripture. Extrabiblical prophetic word and writings are referred to in the Bible itself,⁴³ and they may be affirmed as God's word to a particular time, place and people. But they lacked or ceased to have a normative and abiding character and, in the providence of God, they were set aside or were allowed to pass away. The church received the Bible, however, from the beginning not only as the word of authentic prophets but also as canon,⁴⁴ i.e. not only as the divinely inspired, but also as the abiding and normative Word of God to his people for all generations and thus as the Word by which all other (claimed) prophetic revelations are to be tested.⁴⁵ Where did the church get this idea of the Bible? The question cannot be pursued in detail here, but it may be addressed briefly in an assessment of Jesus Christ's attitude toward the Jewish Scriptures, i.e. our Old Testament.

and I in perfect laws in the world of things existing as real objects' (176, cf. 302). Cf. also A. Einstein, *Ideas and Opinions*, New York 1954, 50.

⁴³ E.g. I Cor 5:9; II Pet 3:1 (lost apostolic letters); II Sam 1:18; I Kg 11:41; 14:19; I Chron 29:29 (lost Hebrew writings, at least some of which were probably prophetic word). See below, note 59.

⁴⁴ I.e. the Old Testament as a complete corpus and the New Testament books as they were severally composed, received and used. See above, Chapter XVI, 236-239. Cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 27), 3-50, 125f. Quite differently, B. S. Childs (*Introduction to the Old Testament as Scripture*, Philadelphia 1979, 96, 238, *passim*) thinks that, for the Old Testament, books were shaped to function as canon in Israel only by their final editors. He appears to view the New Testament similarly; cf. *idem*, *The New Testament as Canon*, Valley Forge PA ²1994, *passim*: '[In] the reading of the letter [of I Thessalonians] as a canonical writing . . . , its original paraenetic purpose was extended by the subsequent generations of readers to include themselves as the addressee' (356).

⁴⁵ Cf. Dt 13:1-5.

Jesus' Attitude toward his Bible

The Jews of Beroea believed in Jesus because they believed the Scriptures;⁴⁶ Gentiles, however, believe the Scriptures because they believe in Jesus. For Gentile Christians the teaching of Jesus, implicit and explicit, about the Scriptures will be of highest significance. It is quite pronounced in at least four Gospel episodes: the Temptation, the Sermon on the Mount, and Jesus' biblical expositions (midrashim) on divorce and on resurrection.

In the temptation episode Jesus treats the Bible, i.e. the Old Testament, as the canonical Word of final authority.⁴⁷ When Satan tempts him, citing a biblical text as authority, Jesus responds by quoting another biblical verse that he considers the more appropriate and applicable Word of God for his present situation.

In the Sermon on the Mount Jesus counters some traditional interpretations of Scripture with the words, 'You have heard that it was said . . ., but I say.'⁴⁸ To prevent a wrong understanding that Jesus was setting his views against those of the Old Testament,⁴⁹ Matthew prefaces to the Sermon another dominical teaching:

Do not think that I came to destroy the law or the prophets.
I did not come to destroy but to fulfil.
... Until heaven and earth pass away
Not an iota, not a dot will pass away from the law
Until all is accomplished.⁵⁰

With these words Jesus declares that every bit of Scripture, i.e. its true intention and purpose, will assuredly be accomplished.⁵¹

In the debate about divorce,⁵² like that at the Temptation, Jesus argues that a particular biblical passage (and not another) is determinative for the question at issue. Of interest here, he equates the cited words at Gen 2:24 with what 'God said' (Mt 19:4f.) even though the words are not a 'thus says the Lord' passage but simply the editorial of Genesis. From this one may infer that Jesus regards the 'Word of God' character of the Bible as extending to the editorial matter of the various biblical books.

⁴⁶ Cf. Acts 17:11.

⁴⁷ Mt 4:5-7 = Lk 4:9-12.

⁴⁸ Mt 5:21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43.

⁴⁹ Which has in fact happened. Cf. R. A. Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount*, Waco 1982, 179-182, 185.

⁵⁰ Mt 5:17f.

⁵¹ Cf. Isa 55:10f.

⁵² Mt 19:3-9; cf. Mk 10:2-9.

In his debate with the Sadducees⁵³ Jesus responds to their denial of the resurrection with the words, 'You err, not knowing the Scriptures . . .' (Mt 22:29). Since these theologians memorized Scripture virtually by the book, Jesus could hardly have referred to an ignorance of the biblical text. Rather he identifies their doctrinal error with their ignorance of its meaning and, consequently, identifies Scripture (γραφή), i.e. the Word of God, not with the words of Scripture in the abstract but with their true import.⁵⁴

Recent studies of the formation and transmission of the Gospel traditions have shown that it was a careful process controlled by a leadership group.⁵⁵ They offer good grounds to conclude that the above passages substantially represent the views of the earthly Jesus toward Scripture. These views cannot easily be set aside as an accommodation to popular opinion for they underlie the whole of Jesus' ministry as a Scripture teacher.⁵⁶ They also accord with the attitude toward Scripture in the New Testament letters.

The apostle Paul, affirming the abiding authority of the Old Testament Scriptures, states that although they were composed and applied centuries before, they were also 'written for our instruction' and 'for our admonition on whom the end of the ages has come.'⁵⁷ He speaks of them as 'breathed out by God' (θεόπνευστος) . . . in order that the man of God may be complete, equipped for every good work.⁵⁸ Peter likewise cites a tradition or perhaps a contemporary prophecy on the divine origin of Scripture.⁵⁹

⁵³ Mt 22:23-33 T + Q. Cf. Jn 10:35 where the saying 'The Scripture cannot be broken' (ἀσθῆναι), i.e. annulled or set aside or proved false (Carson), is an assumption common to Jesus and his opponents. The logic of the argument in Jn 10 is similar to that used against the Sadducees; see above, Chapter VIII, 97. Cf. D. A. Carson, *The Gospel according to John*, Leicester UK 1991, 399; Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 27), 98n; idem, *The Gospel of Luke*, Grand Rapids 1996, 234-237 on Lk 20:27-40. On T + Q see above, 228, note 90.

⁵⁴ Cf. Mt 22:29; Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 27), 127. This is also the way in which the apostle Paul views Scripture; cf. Ellis *Paul's Use* (note 27), 25-28, 147f. (II Cor 3:6); idem, *Prophecy* (note 27), 172.

⁵⁵ Cf. Ellis (note 9), 19-33; B. Gerhardsson, *Memory and Manuscript*, Grand Rapids 1998; R. Riesner, 'Jesus as Preacher and Teacher,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 185-211, 189ff., 193-208.

⁵⁶ See above, Chapter II, 25-37.

⁵⁷ Rom 15:4; I Cor 10:11.

⁵⁸ II Tim 3:16f. Cf. B. B. Warfield, "'God-Inspired Scripture,'" *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible*, Philadelphia 1970, 245-296: 'Scripture is called θεόπνευστος in order to designate it as "God-breathed," the product of Divine spiration, . . .' (296).

⁵⁹ II Pet 1:20f. I have argued elsewhere that there are no adequate grounds, literary or historical, for the traditional consensus that II Peter is post- and pseudo-Petrine. Considerable evidence points to its origin in the East during the early 60s

Knowing this first that

'No prophecy of Scripture is from [the prophet's] own interpretation

For no prophecy was ever brought forth (φέρειν) by the will of man

But [men] carried along (φέρειν) by the Holy Spirit spoke from God.'

If these brief examples are representative, Jesus and the New Testament writers, i.e. authors, view the Old Testament as a divine and normative, i.e. canonical revelation for understanding truth about God, man and the world.

Jesus and the New Testament Writers as Prophets

For Jesus and his apostles the normative and abiding revelation of God extended beyond the Old Testament prophets to include their own teaching. Without excluding other higher predicates, Jesus accepts and affirms his own identity as a prophet and thus as one who mediates God's revelation.⁶⁰ As represented in the Gospels, his teachings are in considerable measure expositions (midrashim) of earlier biblical prophecy. In this respect Jesus continues a practice begun already in the Old Testament where prophecy sometimes takes the form of exegesis.⁶¹ He also identifies his apostles as prophets, both as bearers of his name and of the Holy Spirit,⁶² and as mediators of revelation from him after his resurrection.⁶³ And he associates them with prophets in their destiny to be persecuted, 'for so they persecuted the prophets who were before you.'⁶⁴

There is some evidence that the Gospel traditioners and Evangelists wrote as prophets.⁶⁵ Moreover, they and other New Testament writers place their own teaching on a par with the Old Testament rev-

and prior to I Peter, as T. Zahn and J. A. T. Robinson rightly concluded. This date is also consistent with the document's ascribed authorship, i.e. to the apostle Peter, as long as authorship means only that it was composed under the supervision and authorization of the Apostle. Cf. Ellis (note 9), 293-303, 320-329; J. A. T. Robinson, *Redating the New Testament*, London 1976, 169-199, 195f.; T. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*, 3 vols. Grand Rapids 1953 (1909), II, 194-293, 209f. = GT: Wuppertal 1994, II, 43-112, 52f.

⁶⁰ Mt 13:57 par; Lk 13:33.

⁶¹ E.g. Dan 9:22, 24. Cf. Jer 48:45 with Num 21:28; Jer 50-51 with Isa 13-14; Mic 4:1-8 with Isa 2:2ff.; perhaps Dan 11:30 with Num 24:24; cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 27), 133f.

⁶² E.g. Lk 10:5-12, 17, 21. See above, Chapters IX and XI, 113ff., 133-139.

⁶³ Lk 21:15; Jn 14:16ff.; cf. Mt 10:19f.; Jn 14:26; 16:13. Jesus was not resurrected mute.

⁶⁴ Mt 5:12; cf. Lk 6:23.

⁶⁵ Every Scripture-scholar (πᾶς γραμματεὺς) at Mt 13:52 probably are co-workers

elation and thus imply that it also is a normative and abiding canon of prophetic truth. This is evident from the practice, followed from the outset, of reading the Gospels⁶⁶ and the New Testament letters⁶⁷ in the Christian synagogues, a practice restricted in Jewish tradition to canonical Scripture.⁶⁸

THE MEANING OF 'WORD OF GOD' IN SCRIPTURE

As it is used in the New Testament, the Word of God has two principal aspects: God's creative Word⁶⁹ and his communicative or prophetic Word. Both aspects are mediated by Jesus Christ, God's incarnate Word.⁷⁰ Christ upholds the creation 'by the word of his power,' and 'all things were created by him, . . . through him and for him.'⁷¹ He is also God's final and ultimate prophetic voice: 'God, who spoke in the past by the prophets, in these last days has spoken to us by a Son;' he gave the law through Moses but 'the grace and truth' of his salvation message 'came through Jesus Christ.'⁷² It is the prophetic Word of God that is our present concern.

The phrase, 'Word of God' (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ),⁷³ appears most often in the New Testament for the gospel message, i.e. the basic

of the Evangelist in the composition of the Gospel traditions or of the Gospel itself and are among those identified as 'prophets, both wise men and Scripture-scholars,' at Mt 23:34. Cf. E. E. Ellis, 'Gospels Criticism,' *The Gospel and the Gospels*, ed. P. Stuhlmacher, Grand Rapids 1990, 47; W. D. Davies and D. C. Allison, *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew*, 3 vols., Edinburgh 1997, II, 445-448, although they think that 'every Scripture-scholar' may be an allusion to the author, 'probably something like a self-portrait' (446).

⁶⁶ The phrase, 'let the reader understand' (Mt 24:15 = Mk 13:14), refers to the reader in church and was a part of the episode from at least AD 40. See above, Chapter XVI, 225ff., 237ff.

⁶⁷ E.g. Col 4:16; I Thess 5:27; Rev 1:3; cf. I Tim 4:13; II Pet 3:15f. See above, Chapter XVI, 238.

⁶⁸ Even biblical targums, which could be recited orally in synagogue, could not be read there. See above, Chapter XVI, note 70, p. 224.

⁶⁹ E.g. Heb 1:3; 11:3; II Pet 3:5. The Word of God that regenerates one as 'a new creation' in Christ (cf. II Cor 5:17ff.; Jas 1:18) is not only an effect of the prophetic or communicative Word of God in the gospel proclamation (cf. Rom 10:17) but is also regarded as itself a creative Word of God (Jas 1:18; I Pet 1:23).

⁷⁰ Jn 1:1-3, 14, 18.

⁷¹ Heb 1:3; Col 1:16.

⁷² Heb 1:1f.; Jn 1:17.

⁷³ It occurs over 40 times. Sometimes the phrase is 'Word of the Lord' (e.g. Acts 13:48f.; 15:35f.; 16:32; 19:10; I Thess 1:8; II Thess 3:1) or the 'Word of Christ' (Col 3:16; cf. II Cor 13:3) or 'Word of truth' (James 1:18). About a dozen times the term ῥῆμα ('word') is used but with no discernable difference in meaning; cf.

proclamation of Christ⁷⁴ and of his apostles.⁷⁵ It also refers more broadly to other apostolic teaching or revelation,⁷⁶ to general Christian truth,⁷⁷ to the Old Testament promises⁷⁸ and revelation generally.⁷⁹ In Christian tradition and particularly in the Reformation churches this last usage of the 'Word of God' is rightly applied to the whole of God's prophetic revelation as it is embodied in canonical Scripture. But how is that Word to be discerned in the Bible?

THE LOCUS OF 'WORD OF GOD' IN SCRIPTURE

Contemporary Opinions

In the present century several views have been promoted about the nature of revelation in Scripture and about how it may be discerned and appropriated. A traditional and, I suspect, rather widespread viewpoint simply picks any verse anywhere and regards it as God's Word for me now. That God does sometimes speak through Scripture in this way can hardly be denied. Perhaps the most famous instance is the conversion of Augustine (AD 354–430) in the summer of AD 386. Hesitating to become a Christian because of his sexual lust, he heard children playing in the neighborhood and calling out in a game, '*Tolle lege*' ('Take up and read'). He took up his Scriptures and his eye fell on Romans 13:13f.: 'Let us walk decently. . . . Put on the Lord Jesus Christ and make no provision for the flesh, to [gratify] its lusts.' Responding to this Word, Augustine committed his life to Christ.⁸⁰ Yet such random appropriation of the Bible often

Jn 8:3ff., 47; Eph 6:17; Heb 6:5; 11:3, I Pet 1:25. Cf. G. Kittel, 'λέγω,' *TDNT* 4 (1967/1942), 113–136.

⁷⁴ E.g. Lk 5:1; 8:11, 21; 11:28; cf. Mk 2:2.

⁷⁵ E.g. Acts 4:31; 6:7; 8:14, 25; 11:1; 12:24; 13:5, 7, 44; Col 1:25; I Thess 2:13; Tit 2:5; Heb 13:7; Rev 6:9; 20:4. C. H. Dodd (*The Apostolic Preaching and Its Developments*, London ¹⁰1963, 7–35) usefully classified the content of the proclamation as follows: Christ's coming as the fulfilment of Old Testament promises; his death, resurrection and exaltation; his sending and the presence of the Holy Spirit; his personal return (17, 25–28).

⁷⁶ E.g. I Cor 14:36; I Thess 4:15; Rev 1:2.

⁷⁷ II Cor 2:17; 4:2; Col 3:16; I Thess 2:13; I Jn 2:14; Rev 1:9; Cf. I Tim 6:3; II Tim 2:15; Rev 6:9; 20:4.

⁷⁸ E.g. Rom 9:6.

⁷⁹ Jn 10:35.

⁸⁰ Augustine, *Confessions* 8, 12 (29); cf. *MPL* 32 (1863), 1762; *NPNF*¹ (1890), 127f. He was apparently following a pagan practice of opening at random the writings of Homer and Vergil to find a solution to a personal problem. So, M. L. Colish,

produces quite different and misleading results. As a method to define or to discern the Word of God in Scripture, it is hardly adequate.

Several more reasoned approaches to Scripture have been given serious consideration this century, particularly at mid-century. They are the identification of the biblical revelation with God's acts (G. E. Wright),⁸¹ with God's revelation of himself (K. Barth;⁸² J. Baillie⁸³), with God's existential encounter and demand (R. Bultmann)⁸⁴ and with the images given to the biblical seers (A. Farrer).⁸⁵

Although these approaches shed light on certain aspects of biblical revelation, they were wrongly used as substitutes for a conceptual and propositional revelation. From a biblical perspective God both acts and speaks, and he does not speak only to utter his name

Medieval Foundations of the Western Intellectual Tradition 400-1400, New Haven CT 1997, 28. John Wesley had a similar conversion experience.

⁸¹ G. E. Wright, *God Who Acts*, London 1958: 'Now in Biblical faith everything depends upon whether the central events actually occurred' (126). ... Biblical faith would better be designated as [God's acts in] history interpreted by faith than as mythology' (128). But see J. Barr, 'The Interpretation of Scripture II,' *Int* 17 (1963) 193, 196-203: 'We cannot attribute to history a revelatory character ... [with] priority over the particular divine spoken communications with particular men ...' (197). E.g. Exod 3. Cf. also A. Farrer, *The Glass of Vision*, London 1948, 43: 'The events [of Christ's ministry] by themselves are not revelation, for they do not by themselves reveal the divine work which is accomplished in them ...'

⁸² K. Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 4 vols. in 13, Edinburgh 1975, I, i, 99-120: '[When one] hears God himself speak through the biblical word of man ...,' the 'Bible, then, becomes God's Word in this event ...' (110). 'What we have in the Bible ... are human attempts to reproduce the Word of God in human words and thoughts. ... On the one hand *Deus dixit*, on the other hand *Paulus dixit*' (113). But this speculative dichotomy hardly accords with the biblical prophets' own perception of their message. Barth's conception of Scripture as, via the Holy Spirit, 'a witness to divine revelation' and in that sense 'the Word of God' (I, ii, 457-534) was clearly an advance over the older liberalism although, writing from the left, J. Barton (*People of the Book?* London 1993, 82) thinks that Barth's distinction is, in its result, only theoretical and does not make Neo-orthodoxy 'any less prone to effective bibliolatry.'

⁸³ Cf. J. Baillie, 'The Divine Self-Disclosure,' *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought*, New York 1967, 19-40, who argues that 'what is fundamentally revealed is God himself not propositions [or images] about God' (49). There is 'a human element' in propositions and images that precludes their being revelation (38). But this applies also to divine encounter or self-revelation since the receiver is human. If the presence of 'a human element' precludes the reality of a divine revelation then it is hard to see how a divine revelation from God to man is possible at all.

⁸⁴ R. Bultmann, *Existence and Faith*, Cleveland OH 1965, 78f.

⁸⁵ A. Farrer (note 81), 43: 'The great images interpreted the events of Christ's ministry, death, and resurrection, and the events interpreted the images; the interplay of the two is revelation.' Similarly, E. Brunner, *Revelation and Reason*, Philadelphia 1946, 84-88. But, criticizing Farrer, see Baillie (note 83): 'In the thought of St. Paul, for example, images and propositional truths are inextricably intermingled,

or to prompt one's will. He also allows the prophet to be his mouth to convey a divine message through both imagery and assertion.⁸⁶ Even the briefest biblical confession, 'Jesus is Lord,' is a proposition,⁸⁷ and any approach to revelation that wishes to do justice to the biblical conception must include its propositional aspect.⁸⁸

'Word of God' as the Teaching of Scripture

The most satisfactory understanding of the 'place' or locus of the Word of God in Scripture is, I believe, the teaching of the prophetic author or of the Holy Spirit through the author. As we have seen above,⁸⁹ it is the biblical teaching considered as a whole or within a particular passage, rightly understood and rightly interpreted, that Jesus and the New Testament authors identify as Scripture (γραφή) or Word of God, teaching that they at times attribute specifically to God.⁹⁰

The teaching of Scripture, however, does not include everything that Scripture touches and that is no part of its teaching. For example, the account of the healing of blind Bartimaeus (and another)⁹¹ doubtless offers a number of teachings, but whether Jesus healed him going into Jericho (Luke) or out of Jericho (Matthew, Mark) is no part of the teaching. Except in a broad sense,⁹² chronological sequence is of no interest to the Evangelists. For them, as for some other ancient historians,⁹³ thematic arrangement often takes precedence over chronological order.⁹⁴

and it is difficult to know why . . . the former are directly the medium of revelation in a sense in which the latter are not (38).'

⁸⁶ Cf. Exod 4:10-16.

⁸⁷ I Cor 12:3. Introducing his discussion of pneumatic, i.e. prophetic gifts, the apostle Paul states that no one is able to say, 'Jesus is Lord,' from the heart 'except in the Holy Spirit,' i.e. as a revelatory, divinely mediated word.

⁸⁸ Still instructive is B. B. Warfield's 'The Biblical Idea of Revelation' (note 58), 71-102 = ISBE¹ 4 (1915), 2573-2582.

⁸⁹ See above, 268ff.

⁹⁰ E.g. 'God said' (Mt 19:4f.; Acts 4:24f.; 13:34.; II Cor 6:16ff.; Heb 1:5f.; cf. Rom 9:15; 11:4; Heb 3:7). Cf. Ellis, *Paul's Use* (note 27), 22-25; Warfield (note 58), 229-241, 299-348.

⁹¹ Mt 20:29-34 par.

⁹² E.g. the sequence of the baptism of Jesus, his public ministry, his crucifixion and resurrection.

⁹³ E.g. the Roman historian Suetonius (AD 69-122), surveying the *Lives of the Caesars* (2 vols., London 1935) from Julius to Domitian, often narrates the events in each life thematically rather than in a chronological order.

⁹⁴ The same applies in some measure to geographical placement. Cf. Ellis, 'The Making of Narratives in the Synoptic Gospels,' *Jesus and the Oral Gospel Tradition*, ed. H. Wansbrough, Sheffield UK 1991, 325-330; idem (note 9), 347-352.

To identify the 'Word of God' character of the Bible as its teaching does not resolve all problems. It does not tell us how the teaching of a given passage is arrived at or how it is to be applied to a given situation. It does not tell us how to distinguish in a given passage what it teaches from that which it only touches, matters that require inquiry into the intention of the author and the application of principles of interpretation. Nevertheless, it provides a frame of reference and a focus for the serious student of Scripture to seek and to discern the Word of God to be found there.

THE WORD OF GOD HIDDEN AND REVEALED

The Role of the Holy Spirit

When the Reformers argued for the perspicuity or clarity of Scripture, they were primarily concerned to affirm against the Roman Catholic theologians the competence of believers to read, understand and apply the Scriptures independent of the interpretation of them by the papacy or by the church.⁹⁵ They and many, though not all,⁹⁶ of their successors affirmed the role of the Holy Spirit in making the meaning of Scripture clear to the believing reader.⁹⁷ But according to Scripture the Holy Spirit not only unveils the Bible's true 'Word of God' meaning but also hides it.

⁹⁵ Cf. J. Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., Philadelphia 1960 (1559), I, 80f., 95f. = 1,7,5; 1,9,3; R. S. Wallace, *Calvin's Doctrine of Word and Sacrament*, Grand Rapids 1957, 123-132; F. Beisser, *Claritas Scripturae bei Martin Luther*, Göttingen 1966, 158-181; R. Preus, 'The Clarity of Scripture,' *The Inspiration of Scripture*, Edinburgh 1955, 156-169.

⁹⁶ Some Protestants, overly confident of the competence and objectivity of human reason, supposed that the Word of God in Scripture was clear to both believer and unbeliever. B. B. Warfield (1851-1921) appears at times to reflect this viewpoint when he speaks of Scripture as 'the only "Word of God" accessible to men' (note 58, 101). Others, e.g. J. Gerhard (1582-1637), more perceptively distinguished between the clarity of the Bible as a historical text from 'a true spiritual understanding, a *notitia Spiritus*, of Scripture [that] is attained only by the regenerate and only by means of illumination which the Holy Spirit bestows through Scripture' (cited in Preus, note 95, 158).

⁹⁷ E.g. A. Calov, *Systema Locorum Theologicorum*, Wittenberg 1682, I, 713, cited in Preus (note 95), 184: 'If the Spirit is separated from the Word of God, it is no longer the Word of God.' Similarly, the Anglican evangelical, Charles Simeon, *Works (Horae Homileticae)*, 21 vols., London ³1838, V, 373, cited in H. D. McDonald, *Ideas of Revelation*, London 1959, 234: 'Even the Scriptures themselves will be a "dead letter" and a "sealed book" unless the Spirit of God open the understanding to understand them.'

The Word of God Hidden

In the teaching of Jesus and his apostles and prophets, the Bible mediates divine revelation.⁹⁸ But this does not mean that the Word of God in Scripture is to be found or mediated simply by saying or hearing words of Scripture. In Jesus' temptation Satan can cite biblical texts and bring forth quite the opposite of God's revelation.⁹⁹ Similarly, according to a dominical exposition the religious leaders and theologians 'made void the Word of God' by their wrong interpretations of Scripture.¹⁰⁰ Although trained in biblical data, the Sadducees erred in their views because they 'do not know the Scriptures' (γραφάς).¹⁰¹ The crowds who rejected Jesus received in turn a judgment of seeing but not perceiving, hearing but not understanding his divine message of salvation.¹⁰² The apostle Paul also teaches that to read the Bible apart from Christ and the Spirit is to read it with a 'veiled' mind in which God's revelation, the Scripture (γραφή) in its true and redemptive significance, is not perceived.¹⁰³

Sometimes the revelation in Scripture remains hidden even from God's own servants. It is said to be withheld from Old Testament prophets so that they do not understand the full import of their own prophecies.¹⁰⁴ Christ's prophecy of his coming death and resurrection was, according to Luke, not understood at that time by his pupils 'because it was hidden from them in order that they not perceive it.'¹⁰⁵ In sum, the Word of God in Scripture may be hidden for a number of reasons, that is, because of wrong interpretation, because of one's sin or because of God's purpose.

The Word of God Unveiled

In the view of the biblical writers the Word of God has a dynamic character in both its creative and its communicative aspects. In both respects it effects the reality:

⁹⁸ See above, 266–269 and notes 47–59.

⁹⁹ Mt 4:6.

¹⁰⁰ Mt 15:6 par. Cf. Ellis, *Prophecy* (note 27), 158; idem, *Old Testament* (note 27), 97n.

¹⁰¹ Mt 22:29 par.

¹⁰² Mt 13:10–14 parr. Cf. Rom 11:7ff.; Heb 4:2.

¹⁰³ II Cor 3:14f.; Cf. 3:7; Ellis, *Paul's Use* (note 27), 25–28; G. Schrenk, 'γραφή, γράμμα,' *TDNT* 1 (1964/1933), 749–769.

¹⁰⁴ Dan 12:4, 8f.; I Pet 1:11f.

¹⁰⁵ Lk 9:45. The passive voice implies that it was hidden from them by God.

By the Word of the Lord the heavens were made;¹⁰⁶

My Word . . . shall not return to me void but shall accomplish what I please.¹⁰⁷

For the Word of God is living and active
And sharper than any two-edged sword
Piercing to the splitting of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow
And discerning the reflections and thoughts of the heart.¹⁰⁸

When the 'hidden' Word of God is unveiled, this also is viewed as revelation. Thus, Jesus says to Peter:

Blessed are you Simon Bar-Jonah,
For flesh and blood has not revealed (ἀπεκάλυψεν) this to you
But my father in heaven.¹⁰⁹

That is, when Peter connected Jesus with the messianic prophecies that he, like any Jewish boy, had learned in synagogue 'from childhood,'¹¹⁰ a divine revelation was mediated.

From such biblical texts one may speak of the Bible becoming the Word of God, that is, the Word of God hidden becomes the Word of God revealed. Many know this from their grandmother's comment: 'The Lord gave me a verse.' Some learned the phrase from Karl Barth.¹¹¹ But is the Bible on the table not also revelation? Barth rightly saw the dynamic quality of 'the Word of God revealed' (I, i, 120); but he supposed that the Bible, i.e. the biblical text read in church, is only 'a witness to [past] divine revelation.'¹¹² The testimony of Scripture, however, is that the Word of God hidden within the biblical text is also a hidden revelation,¹¹³ i.e. a 'mystery,'¹¹⁴ and

¹⁰⁶ Ps 33:6; cf. Gen 1:3; II Cor 4:6; Heb 11:3.

¹⁰⁷ Isa 55:11.

¹⁰⁸ Heb 4:10ff.

¹⁰⁹ Mt 16:17; cf. II Cor 3:15-18.

¹¹⁰ Cf. II Tim 3:14f.

¹¹¹ E.g. Barth (note 82), I, i, 110.

¹¹² Barth (note 82) argues that 'the Bible is not in itself and as such God's past revelation. As it is God's Word, it bears witness to God's past revelation . . .' (I, i, 111; I, ii, 457-472, 457). Cf. G. W. Bromiley, 'The Authority of Scripture in Karl Barth' *Hermeneutics, Authority and Canon*, edd. D. A. Carson *et al.*, Grand Rapids 1986, 275-294: 'Barth's stress and insistence on the witnessing role of Scripture leave at times an impression of devaluation of Scripture as God's word.' It suggests . . . 'that Scripture has an inferior role except in so far as the Holy Spirit empowers it in sovereign freedom' (290).

¹¹³ In a change of mind from that expressed in E. E. Ellis, 'The Authority of Scripture,' *EQ* 39 (1967), 199f.

¹¹⁴ This term is used by Paul for revelation hidden in Scripture (e.g. Rom 16:25f.;

that, in the words of the apostle Paul, it becomes the Word of God revealed when 'the veil is taken away' (II Cor 3:16) by the Holy Spirit. Viewed in this framework, the Word of God in Scripture is never truth available, to be picked up at one's own option like pebbles on a beach. It is always either truth hidden or truth revealed. When revealed, it is the act of God mediating the truth of God. It is not truth that one achieves but truth that one receives from God.

The Holy Spirit mediates divine truth to and through the prophet, who then inscribes it for the future hearing and reading of God's people. But the Spirit remains sovereign in and through the written Word, and he determines when and to whom this truth of God will be revealed and to whom it will remain veiled. He does this both in the initial revelation through the prophet and in the subsequent exposition of the biblical passage by the preacher.

This is most clearly illustrated in the revelation through Isaiah¹¹⁵ which, as a judgment, is to be veiled from the people so that they shall 'hear but not understand, see but not perceive' (6:9). The same judgment is applied, citing this prophecy of Isaiah, to those who rejected Jesus' Word. But regarding his pupils Jesus prayed:

I praise you Father, Lord of heaven and earth
Because you hid (ἐκρύψας) these things
From the wise and intelligent ones
And revealed (ἀπεκάλυψας) them to babes.¹¹⁶

And to his pupils he said,

Blessed are your eyes because they see
And your ears because they hear.¹¹⁷

From this perspective Jesus can also conclude a biblical exposition with the words, 'He who has ears to hear let him hear.'¹¹⁸ That is,

Eph 1:9f.; 3:3-6; 5:32; Col 1:25ff.; cf. Mk 4:11 T + Q; Rev 1:1f.; 10:7), revelation that he and other pneumatics are gifted by the Spirit to unveil to God's people. Similarly, the wise teachers, i.e. *maskilim* at Qumran and in particular the Teacher of Righteousness are those to whom God 'by your Holy Spirit' opened knowledge 'in the mystery of your wisdom' (1QH 12:12f.) and 'to whom God has revealed all the mysteries of his servants the prophets' (1QpHab 7:4f.). Cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 27), 119 ff. On T + Q see above, 228, note 90.

¹¹⁵ Isa 6:1-13; Cf. Mt 13:10-15 T + Q.

¹¹⁶ Mt 11:25 Q.

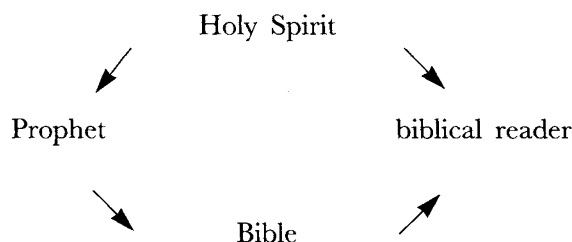
¹¹⁷ Mt 13:16.

¹¹⁸ Mt 11:15; cf. Ellis, *Old Testament* (note 27), 86n. Cf. also Mt 13:9 parr; Mk 4:23; Lk 14:35.

it is God who enables one to get the true import of the biblical or dominical teaching. This understanding accords with Jesus' teaching in John's Gospel: 'Why do you [rejectors] not understand my speech? Because you are unable to hear my word' (8:43). 'My sheep hear my voice . . . , and they follow me' (10:27). Paul probably has the same thought in mind when he affirms that 'faith comes from hearing and hearing ($\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$) comes through the Word of Christ.'¹¹⁹ This understanding is strengthened by two factors: (1) Elsewhere in Paul's letters $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ has the meaning 'faculty of hearing.'¹²⁰ and (2) Paul's subsequent reference to Jewish unhearing hearers alludes to the same Isa 6 passage cited by Jesus.¹²¹

The Dynamic Circle of Revelation

With the above considerations in mind, one may speak of a dynamic circle of canonical revelation. The Holy Spirit mediates revealed truth to and through the prophets, who under inspiration inscribe it in their prophetic books. Later hearers and readers of the biblical writings receive a hidden revelation that is unveiled only when the Holy Spirit, speaking to the individual or through Christian teachers, opens the mind of the reader or hearer to receive it. Then the dynamic circle is completed, and revelation is again mediated.



Biblical teaching often presents us with a paradox. For example, it commands us to love our neighbor as ourselves,¹²² which in human terms is quite impossible. So also in the case of revelation it represents

¹¹⁹ Rom 10:17. Some interpret Paul's $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\eta$ from the Isaiah 53:1 passage to mean 'the message.' But a proper method interprets the Old Testament by the New, not the New Testament by the Old.

¹²⁰ Cf. I Cor 12:17; Gal 3:2, 5; I Thess 2:13; II Tim 4:3f.

¹²¹ Rom 11:7f. = Deut 29:4; Isa 29:10; 6:9f.; cf. Mt 13:14f. parr.

¹²² Lev 19:18; Mt 19:19; 22:39 parr; Rom 13:9, Gal 5:14; Jas 2:8.

divine truth as something that is received and that is not the accomplishment of man's effort. Nevertheless, one is not to remain passive with respect to it. One is commanded to pray,¹²³ to listen to,¹²⁴ meditate on¹²⁵ and read out¹²⁶ the biblical Word. It is in this frame of reference that God is pleased to unveil his revelation to the seeker of his truth.

¹²³ Lk 11:13; Jn 16:24; Jas 1:5f.; cf. Rom 12:12; I Cor 14:13; I Thess 5:17.

¹²⁴ Pv 2:2-9; Isa 1:10; 51:4; cf. II Chron 14:4; 17:9; Pv 28:9; Lk 16:31; Gal 4:21; Rev 1:3.

¹²⁵ Josh 1:8; Ps 1:2; 119:9-16, 77ff.

¹²⁶ Col 4:16; I Thess 5:27; I Tim 4:13; Rev 1:3; cf. Deut 17:18f.; II Chron 34:30f.; Neh 8:1-8, 12, 18; 9:3; II Cor 3:15f.

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